Vol. XXI.
No. 81 (Third Series.)

BACONIANA

JANUARY, 1934.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
"Shakespeare," Bacon and Julius Caesar. By H. Kendra Baker	173
Remarkable Devices in the Shakespeare First Folio. By Bertram G. Theobald, B.A.	182
Shakespeare's own Confession of the Authorship Sham. By Henry Seymour	190
A Criticism of the "Oxford" theory of the Authorship of "Shakespeare." By Howard Bridgewater	199
Dugald Stewart on the sublime genius of Francis Bacon. By Alicia A. Leith	208
Bacon's Re-Birth. By M. F. Bayley	212
The Bacon Pedigree. By Mrs. Foggitt	217
The "Treble-Dated Crow." By T. Vaughan Welsh	221
Ben Jonson and the First Folio	231
Mente Videbor. By Mabel Sennett	233
The Interrogatories of Francis Bacon	235
Francis Bacon and the Money-Lenders. By C. L'Estrange Ewen	238
Correspondence	254
Notes and Notices	256
Obituary	263

LONDON:
THE BACON SOCIETY INCORPORATED
CANONBURY TOWER, N.

BACONIANA

VOL. XXI, *Third Series*. JAN., 1934. No. 81

It should be understood that "Baconiana" is a medium for the discussion of subjects connected with the Objects of the Bacon Society, but that the Society does not necessarily accept responsibility for opinions expressed by its contributors.

"SHAKESPEARE," BACON AND JULIUS CAESAR.

By H. KENDRA BAKER.

IN view of the very great interest displayed by both Bacon *and* Shakespeare in Julius Cæsar and his works (a coincidence which Stratfordians might profitably consider), and of the fact that the Julian Calendar has—with very slight modifications made by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582—been in use from B.C. 46 to the present day, it may not be out of place to consider the drastic changes which this reform necessitated, and the confusion in the popular mind which the Dramatist indicates in his play.

The immense and far-reaching reforms which this Great Patriot introduced into Rome—often in the teeth of bitter opposition and ridicule—were not confined solely to political and administrative matters.

His greatest and most durable reform, to meet an urgent and pressing need, was carried through amidst the jests of Cicero and the other wits of the time. As Froude says: "It pleased Cicero to mock, as if Cæsar, not contented with

the earth, was making himself the master of the heavens. 'Lyra,' he said, 'was to set according to the Edict,' but the unwise man was not Cæsar in this instance." In point of fact the Roman calendar had got into a hopeless muddle, and was going from bad to worse. "Something had got to be done about it!"; and as "Select Committees" were not known in those days—fortunately perhaps!—Julius Cæsar had to see to it himself.

The Roman year had hitherto consisted of 355 days with a month to be intercalated every other year, so as to bring the calendar into some sort of agreement with Solar time. Dr. Liddell, in his History of Rome, points out that even if the intercalations had been regularly made, considerable discrepancy would still have existed. But, apparently, the Sacred College, whose business it was to see to these matters, were so careless in their duties that the difference between the Civil Year and the Solar Year sometimes amounted to several months, so much so in fact, that had not Julius stepped in, we might now be eating our Christmas turkey when the Michælmas goose should be gracing the board!

Cæsar called in Sosigenes, an Alexandrian astronomer, with whom, as Froude suggests "It is not unlikely he had discussed the problem in the hours during which he is supposed to have amused himself in the arms of Cleopatra."

Sosigenes decided to scrap the moon altogether, and to rely exclusively on the Sun for the new calendar.

After "exploring every avenue"—as is so popular a pursuit now-a-days—Julius and Sosigenes determined to make the 1st Jan. of the Roman year 709 A.U.C. coincide with the 1st Jan. of the Solar year which we call 45 B.C. The trouble was, however, that this 1st. Jan. 709 A.U.C. would be no less than 67 days in advance of the calendar they desired to adopt; or, in other words, would coincide not with the 1st Jan. 45 B.C. but with the 22nd Oct. of the previous year, viz., 46 B.C. This was awkward, especially as an intercalary month of 23 days had already been inserted in the February of 708 A.U.C. in order to speed things up a bit, before they had decided to "go off the

Moon Standard." But the "transitional benefit," so to speak, had got to be made up somehow, and so it was moved by Sosigenes, seconded by Julius, and carried unanimously by both of them, that two *more* months, making together 67 days, should be intercalated between the last day of November and the 1st December of the same year.

The effect of this was to give the year 708 A.U.C. no less than 445 days instead of 355, thus: 355 + 23 + 67= 445. It was called, as Liddell records, "The Year of Confusion." More justly should it be named as Macrobius observes, "The Last Year of Confusion," for it produced order out of chaos and Jan. 1st, 709, started off gaily with the sun. But, alas, there was one little detail that the two reformers overlooked, namely, that the Julian year is longer than the true Solar year by about 11 minutes and strange though it may seem, these odd minutes had mounted up by 1582, to 10 *days*, when Pope Gregory XIII decided upon a "spring-clean" of the calendar and dropped these 10 days out of that year altogether, ordering, with a view to ensure accuracy in future, that the additional day of February should be omitted three times in 400 years. This is our present Calendar, but it was not until 1752 A.D. that Protestant England adopted the reform, when 11 days were dropped between the 2nd and 14th of September, which caused quite a commotion, and gave rise to the slogan: "Give us back our 11 days!" There are some who assert that both Julius and Gregory were wrong by 14 seconds a year, and that our calendar is still three days out as is indicated by our "longest day" being the 21st June while Midsummer-day is the 24th. Perhaps "Il Duce" might like to carry on the good work initiated by his eminent forerunner!

Now, it can well be understood that the sudden addition of 90 days to a civil year would create a considerable amount of confusion extending well into the following year. Almanacs were probably not as common as they are to-day and thus we need not feel surprised that Brutus waking early on the morning of the 15th, or Ides, of March

B. C. 44, should be uncertain of the date, and thus address Lucius:

Brutus: "Get thee to bed again, it is not day,
Is not to-morrow, boy, the first of March."
Lucius: "I know not, Sir."
Brutus: "Look in the calendar and bring me word."
. . . . . .
Lucius: "Sir, March is wasted 15 days."

In this passage "the first of March" has been altered to "the Ides of March," and Edwin Reed in his "Coincidences" thus comments on the alteration:

"Editor Lewis Theobald (1733) unable to comprehend how Brutus could commit such an error as to mistake the 15th of March for the first, promptly substituted for the latter the word "Ides," and has been followed by Editors generally from that time to the present (1905) a period of 172 years. Probably none of them ever heard that under the operation of the Old Calendar, ... the Roman Year had been advancing against true time for hundreds of years. Theobald. . . also tampered with Lucius' reply making Lucius say that March had wasted 14 instead of 15 days, because it was very early in the morning of the 15th when Lucius spoke. In this respect also he has been followed by other Editors, though none of them could have been ignorant that the law recognises no parts of days. The author of the play was a Lawyer."

Edwin Reed's reference to the probable ignorance of Editors on the subject of the calendar seems to be fully justified by the fact that Goldsmith, who produced his "History of Rome" in 1769—apparently the first of its kind in English—never even mentions this greatest of Cæsar's reforms; and it is not surprising, therefore, that contemporary editors of the plays should have evinced similar ignorance or indifference; though that their mistakes should have been blindly followed by subsequent editors for many years shews how easy it is to perpetuate error.

Elsewhere the writer shews that not only in the passage referred to but in that wherein the conspirators are discussing the point of sunrising, the deliberate intention is

to indicate the popular confusion that necessarily attended the introduction of the new calendar into Rome.

Here is the latter passage (Act. II. Sc. I.):—

Decius: "Here lies the East: doth not the day break here?"
Casca: "No."
Cinna: "O, pardon, Sir, it doth; and yon grey lines
That fret the clouds are messengers of day."
Casca: "You shall confess that you are both deceived.
Here, as I point my sword, the sun arises;
Which is a great way growing on the South,
Weighing the youthful season of the year.
Some two months hence, up higher toward the North
He first presents his fire, and the high East
Stands as the Capitol, directly here."

As Edwin Reed points out, not a single Editor of the play or Commentator, so far as he knew, ventured a word to explain the grounds of this disputation among the conspirators, or even to account for its existence. The difference of opinion, was due to the recent introduction of the new calendar, by which nearly 80 days (SIC—really 90) had been added to the civil year to make it coincide with the course of the sun. The conspirators had simply spoken from the points of view of different calendars. Unable to appreciate the text, Shakespearean Editors have resorted, as usual under such circumstances, to mutilations of it.

In his letter to a correspondent in the *Radio Times*, as reproduced in the last number of BACONIANA, the present writer refers to Theobald's alteration as: "Unhistorical, unscientific, and wrong": an expression which calls for a little modification. "Wrong" it obviously is, but "Unhistorical and unscientific" it should have been stated to be only in the sense that it misses the point of the allusion—the confusion between the old and the new calendar.

Now, it is, to say the least, remarkable that a 16th century dramatist should go out of his way to introduce into a play allusions to so academic and technical a subject as the confusion caused by the introduction of a new calendar, especially as the action of the play in no way depends upon it; and is it not still more remarkable that this dramatist, who evinced the greatest admiration for

Julius Cæsar, should have had a contemporary equally enthusiastic, though neither is ever mentioned by the other?

Just as the dramatist founds one of his greatest tragedies on the life of Julius Cæsar and refers to him approvingly no less than 39 times in his poems and plays, so Bacon writes a laudatory Biography or Character of the same man and makes 34 eulogistic references to him elsewhere in his writings: just as the former calls him "The foremost man in the world," so the philosopher hails him as "The most excellent spirit (his ambition reserved) of the world;" just as in *Hamlet* he is referred to as "The mighty Julius," so Bacon brackets him with Alexander the Great: just as Shakespeare refers approvingly to "The Commentaries Cæsar writ," so Bacon refers in the highest terms to this monumental work as "Expressed in the greatest propriety of words and perspicuity of narration that ever was:" just as the dramatist goes out of his way to memorialise the change of calendar, so does the philosopher in these words:—

> "So we receive from him as a monument both of his power and learning, the then reformed computation of the year: well expressing that he took it to be as great a glory to himself to observe and know the law of the heavens as to give law to men upon earth."

How strange it is that here are supposed to be two individuals—contemporaries, though never mentioned one by the other—vieing with each other in their expressions of admiration for so long forgotten a hero as Julius Cæsar. One would have thought that they would have been falling on each other's necks and quoting each other's lines—if they had *really* been two near neighbours—but so far as any reference by one to the other is concerned, these two strangely self-centred admirers of Julius might not have been on the same planet.

But this admiration goes further; it follows the same channels of thought. Thus does the dramatist depict the characteristics of his hero:—

"But I am constant as the northern star
Of whose true-fixed and resting quality
There is no fellow in the firmament.
The skies are painted with unnumbered sparks,
They are all fire and every one doth shine;
But there is one in all doth hold his place:
So, in the world; 'tis furnished well with men,
And men are flesh and blood and apprehensive;
Yet, in the number, I do know but one
That unassailable holds on his rank,
Unshaked of motion, and that I am he
Let me a little show it."

Bacon similarly describes this characteristic:—

"He referred all things to himself, and was the true and perfect centre of all his actions. By which means, being so fast tied to his ends, he was still prosperous and prevailed in his purposes, insomuch that neither country, nor religion, nor good turns done him, nor kindred, nor friendship, diverted his appetite nor bridled him from pursuing his own ends."

The dramatist and the philosopher both agree as to *the cause* of the conspiracy that led to Cæsar's assassination.

Shakespeare: "All the conspirators, save only he (Brutus),
Did that they did in envy of Great Cæsar."

Bacon: "How to extinguish envy he knew excellently well, and thought it an object worth purchasing even at the sacrifice of dignity. . .He did not put off his mask, but so carried himself that he turned the envy upon the other party."

The assassination itself is described by both almost in identical language:

Bacon: "They came about him as a stag at bay."
Shakespeare: "Here wast thou bayed, brave hart."

Truly these two individuals must have had the most amazing intellectual affinities!

Even on such abstruse questions as the different temperaments and mental states that accompany particular conditions of the body they are not divided.

Says Shakespeare:—

"Let me have men about me that are fat;
Sleek-headed men and such as sleep o' nights.
Yond' Cassius hath a lean and hungry look:
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous."

Now, we know that Bacon was deeply interested in such questions for in his "Catalogue of Particular Histories to be Studied," we find:

> "52. A History of different habits of body, of fat and lean, of complexions (as they are called) etc."

and in his "Advancement of Learning," in dealing with Physiognomy "which discovereth the disposition of the mind by the lineaments of the body," he "notes a deficience" of learning, thus indicating that the subject had not been treated before, so that both Shakespeare *and* Bacon are dealing with a novel subject of research and enquiry. Most remarkable!

How curious it is, too, that these two individuals should express themselves so frequently in almost identical language, especially when it is remembered that such expressions were then novel and unfamiliar.

Let two instances, out of many which could be quoted suffice:

1 *Shakespeare*: "Lend me your ears." *Julius Caesar, III.* 2.
Bacon: "Lend their ears to his music." *Wisdom of the Ancients.*
2 *Shakespeare*: "Should move the stones of Rome to rise and mutiny."—*Julius Caesar, III* 2.
Bacon: "Orpheus drew the woods and moved the very stones to come."—*Wisdom of the Ancients*

But still more curious it is that one of these mysterious individuals must have had—as it would seem—access to the private note book of the other.

Entry No. 725 in Bacon's "Promus," in which he was wont to enter strange and striking phrases as they came to his notice, is a quotation from the "Adagia" of Erasmus, "Plumbeo jugulare gladio" (To kill with a leaden sword—a tame argument), and so pleased is Shakespeare with this little novelty in *Bacon's* pocket book that he reproduces it not only in *Julius Caesar*, III, 1:—

> "To you our swords have leaden points, Mark Anthony."

but also in *Love's Labours Lost*, v. 2.

> "Wounds like a leaden sword."

The dramatist must have found this mysteriously acquired access to Bacon's private note book most convenient, and that it was extensively utilised is evident from the fact that the plays simply bristle with quotations and extracts therefrom! If only the traditionalists were to devote to the elucidation of these "curiosities" and mysteries a fraction of the time expended in flag-wagging at Stratford, it might conceivably tend to a more rational view of the authorship of our greatest literature.

REMARKABLE DEVICES IN THE SHAKESPEARE FIRST FOLIO.

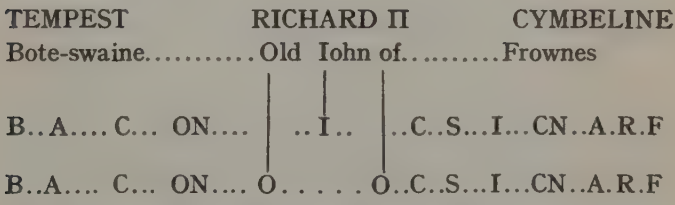
By Bertram G. Theobald, B.A.

AMONG those who have conducted researches into the cryptography of the Tudor period on an extended scale, William Stone Booth must always take high rank. He was a good scholar and a man with a keen, critical mind; and his findings generally carry conviction by the soundness and sanity of his reasoning. It is worthy of note, too, that he showed how Francis Bacon sometimes inserted devices into the text of his works, not for the purpose of proving his authorship, but apparently from sheer exuberance of fancy. This shows that cryptography was part and parcel of Bacon's habit of mind.

In the year 1910 Mr. Booth published an important book entitled *The Hidden Signatures of Francesco Colonna and Francis Bacon; a comparison of their methods* (Boston: W. A. Butterfield). Here I will only give the gist of one of his discoveries. It seems that Colonna, who was a monk, published a book at Venice in 1499 with the title *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, and concealed his name as author by at least one acrostic device. But he also concealed a secret love affair, by arranging that the initial letters of each section of his book, taken in order, should spell out the following sentence: "Poliam Frater Franciscus Columna peramavit." *i.e.*, "Brother Francesco Colonna passionately loved Polia."

Thinking that Francis Bacon might well have done something of the same nature, Mr. Booth proceeded to test the matter. He took from the 1623 Shakespeare Folio the first spoken line of every one of the thirty-six plays, and made a list of all the initial letters of all the words in all these lines, in their correct sequence. They total 264, as he notes; and this, in reverse cipher, is the numerical equivalent of "Bacon-Shakespeare." The first word in the first play is "Bote-swaine"; the last word in the last play i.e., in the first line of the last play, is "Frownes," spelt

with a capital F, though it is there used as a verb. Starting with this F and running backwards along the list of letters, taking the *next* R, then the *next* A, and so on, by a well known method, he completed the word FRANCISCI on the I of "Iohn" in the first line of *Richard II*. Starting again from the B of "Bote-swaine" he proceeded forwards along the list and completed the word BACONI exactly on this same I. Now the first three words of this line are "Old Iohn of"; and by precisely the same means the word FRANCISCO backwards and the word BACONO forwards finish in the one case on the o of "of" in the other case on the O of "Old"; that is to say on the initials of the two words on each side of "Iohn." Thus there is a double indication of authorship, viz. "(These plays) of Francis Bacon," and "(These plays) by or from Francis Bacon." All this is very clearly shown in Mr. Booth's book by means of an excellent diagram (nearly four feet long!) but perhaps I can make it sufficiently plain as under:



Mr Booth then shows that, basing oneself on the evidence of dictionaries, and likewise on the average frequency of occurrence of any given letter of the alphabet, as indicated by the assortment of printers' founts of type, the chances of finding the capital F, the capital B, and the central I in the required places for that part of the device, are about 1 in 9522 books. Therefore the figure for the chances in the whole device would be too large to be worth calculating. In other words, it may be taken as a mathematical certainty that this ingenious piece of cryptography was planned and not accidental. Also, it must of necessity have been planned when the Folio was printed. The whole of

the evidence adduced by Mr. Booth forms a powerful Baconian argument.

I have now discovered that Francis Bacon contrived a very pretty device, of a somewhat different character, on the large initial letters throughout the entire volume; and by this I mean, chiefly the ornamental initials of the first spoken word of each play, but also others which occur here and there in the body of the work. They are not always decorative, but are such as demand that the line below shall be inset to accommodate them. Such letters are easily identified by this criterion. Taking these large initials from beginning to end, in the order in which they occur, we have:

Introduction	W F T T S W W T
Comedies	B N C S E P I L G B N I Y A I I T I I L
Histories	N O S O F R O M H A I N I G M O T
Troilus & Cr.	I-C
Tragedies	B-N G S G T H W W H I L I N O N Y I T W W

The first thing which strikes the eye of one who is familiar with Bacon's methods is the diamond-shaped acrostic, with F.B.O.C. on the corners and N in the centre, thus making F. B'CON, while W.S. (William Shakespeare) may be seen diagonally across this diamond. One is reminded of the diamond acrostic at the foot of Ben Jonson's lines facing the title-page. Secondly, below all this, we have I C and B N, or "I, B'c'n," which is a plain hint.

If we now look a little more closely at these letters, it does not take long to discover the word FROM in the third line; and I believe this was purposely shown. Why? Because that humble little word plays an important role on several notable occasions, for example:

(1) First lines of *Lucrece*.

FROM the besieged Ardea all in post
Borne by the trustlesse wings of false desire,

(2) First lines of *Sonnet I.*

FRom fairest creatures we desire increase
That thereby beauties *Rose* might never die,

(3) First lines of *A Lover's Complaint.*

FRom off a hill whose concave wombe reworded,
A plaintfull story from a sistring vale

(4) First lines of *Address to the Reader*, in the Folio.

FRom the most able, to him that can but spell: There you are number'd.

Notice in (1) the suggestion of FR. BACON, in (2) the suggestion of FR. TUDOR, in (3) the suggestion of FRANCIS, and in (4) FR. TUDOR again, since the capital T, though not directly beneath, is the only other capital in the same line. In all these cases, *which are important because* they occur at the very beginning of a poem or prose composition, I am convinced that there is a secret allusion to Bacon's royal descent, since :

FROM (R) = 51 = TUDOR (R)

Hence I cannot doubt that in the device we are now considering the word FROM has that same meaning.

Again, the first three letters in this third line are N O S; or, reversed (for greater secrecy) SON. So that we may, without any undue strain, read the message, as SON O' FROM, i.e., SON O' TUDOR. Who is this son? Surely F. B'CON shown in the diamond-shaped acrostic just above; also because a diagonal line parallel to W S gives F S T, a further hint for FRANCIS TUDOR, not to mention the F T on the top line. And of whom is he the son? E stands exactly above FROM (Tudor), so that the further message almost certainly is ELIZABETH. This appears to be confirmed by the fact that if we take the next diagonal line, we see R E T, which may well point to ELIZABETH TUDOR, and also ELIZABETHA REGINA. As final confirmation we note that

SON O' FROM (R) = 92 = BACON (R)

thus telling us for the nth time that Francis Bacon was a Tudor Prince.

Having proceeded thus far, it occurred to me to try whether all these letters might be transposed into an anagram, though it seemed a somewhat formidable task to deal thus with so many as 68, especially as there is only a single letter E and only two A's. But I am inclined to think that Bacon himself kindly made the task easier by means of hints. At all events, further study gave me a little daylight; for I noticed a profusion of the letters W T and I, which suggested the word WIT, since Bacon often puts this word on the margin where some cipher device lies hidden. Then I saw PILG together, and also HAINIG, from which one could quickly tumble to PIG and HANG-HOG, which are familiar elements in these little games. There is also MOT at the end of this line, which might mean a jest. Then, of course, one had to work in the F. B'CON shown above; and ultimately I was able to make intelligible, grammatical sentences, pertinent to the authorship problem, out of the whole 68 letters, thus:

ANAGRAM

Wit, wit; witty, witty hint. Lo, I'm F.B'con-W.S., I'm F.B'con-W.S., Hang-hog or Pigg. Will S. is a Ninnie. B.

Reference to the Oxford Dictionary will show that the spellings of "witty," "Pigg," and "Ninnie" are all to be found at about the period of 1623, and are not in any way forced.

Even if it were possible to construct a different anagram from these 68 letters, that would not of itself invalidate the testimony of this one. We cannot, of course, *prove* that this anagram was designed, but it seems highly probable; for, be it specially noted that the twice repeated "F.B'con-W.S." is the identical form shown in the diamond acrostic. This goes far to establish the correctness of both anagram and acrostic. A final indication of the purposeful planning of the design comes from examining

the numerical values of these 68 letters according to their Simple, Reverse, or K codes, which Bacon employed in all his literary work. Thus:

Introduction and Comedies	All letters (R)=359=Francis Bacon-Francis Tudor (R).
Histories	All letters (S)=200=Francis Bacon (R).
Tragedies	All letters (R)=277=Francis Bacon-William Shakespeare (S).

What could be neater or more to the point? It tells us the whole thing in a nutshell.

And now, what will the sceptic say? Is it possible for him to argue, "This might have been planned, but that happened by chance. This was designed, that was not." Can he, with any show of reason, differentiate thus? I think not. In my judgment, the various parts of this device are closely bound into one whole; and since it would be foolish to regard the whole fabric as having come into existence fortuitously, we are obliged to conclude that Francis Bacon has stated once more his claim, made elsewhere in cipher, that he was a Tudor Prince and was also the true "Shakespeare."

In case anyone should check all this with the Oxford facsimile of 1902, photographed from the Chatsworth copy of the Folio, he will notice a small variation in the first line of my letters, thus:

W F S W W T T T

due to the fact that the sections of the introductory matter were bound up in a different order. As will be seen, this only affects a very little out of the results shown above. My own facsimile is a Staunton, and corresponds in these particulars with the Grenville copy of the Folio in the British Museum; and, in his work *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (London: Methuen, 1909) Prof. A. W. Pollard writes: "there seems no reason to doubt that the order of the leaves in the Grenville copy, in which the added double leaf is placed after the original quire, not inserted in it, is that intended by the publishers. It is

found not only in the Grenville but in the Capell, which, according to Mr. Greg, 'shows no trace of ever having been tampered with' in modern times, though it is not certainly original, and . . . also in a copy offered for sale by Mr. Quaritch in 1905." It would appear, therefore, that the order of the letters as I first showed them is correct.

Having completed this piece of investigation as far as it seemed capable of development, I returned to Mr. Booth's discovery, thinking that quite possibly there might be variants of this, which would support his contention that the device was planned. I then took the thirty-six plays of the Folio in succession, but instead of listing the initial letters of *all* the words on each first line, I wrote down the initials of the first words only. It will be remembered that there are three plays which have a prologue, namely *Henry V.*, *Henry VIII.* and *Troilus and Cressida*; and the choice seemed to offer itself whether one should consider the first spoken line of these prologues as being the first line, or take the first line of the play proper. To Mr. Booth's demonstration it makes no difference which is done, but in what follows it does make a trifling difference, and so I choose the latter alternative. (*Troilus & Cressida* is called a tragedy and is here included in that category). The result is as under:

Comedies B-C S E P I L N I A I I I I
Histories N O S O M H A I N G
Tragedies C-B N G G H W W I N N Y

Here again we see unmistakable evidence of design, in that the first letters of these lines make B'CON whether we start from the top or the bottom. Had we taken the prologue to *Troilus & Cressida*, the first letter of the bottom line would have been "I," which would somewhat mar the effect. From this collection of letters the following is my suggestion for an anagram:

Anagram

"I, I, I'm B'con, B'c'n, Hang-hog, Pig. Wil, i.e. W.S., is a Ninny."

Let me remark in the first place that there is at least one precedent in the Folio itself for the thrice repeated "I," namely, at the foot of page 45 in *Merry Wives*, where Falstaff says: "I, I, I my selfe sometimes . . ." Secondly, in the present example, HAING again suggests "Hang-hog," while WINNY on the third line, with N just above, leads us to NINNY. And lastly, just as in the previous case "F.B'con-W.S." in that anagram was indicated at the commencement of those lines, so here "B'con, B'c'n" are the exact abbreviations of the name shown at the commencement of these lines. Accordingly I am disposed to accept this solution, unless a better alternative can be found.

I think it will be admitted that in the foregoing demonstrations a definite system has been followed, which appears to be indicated by the author, and that nothing strained or far-fetched has been introduced. In conclusion I would point out that we are not examining isolated passages from different plays, but a continuous chain binding together the whole series of thirty-six, just as in Mr. Booth's discovery. Evidence obtained in this way is highly significant, and the chances of coincidence are reduced almost to zero. Hence I believe the demonstration as a whole will carry conviction to others besides myself. As a final test, I examined not the first but the last lines of all the thirty-six plays on the same basis as above, but found no results which would point to devices of this nature. I repeat that coincidence will not suffice as an explanation.

SHAKESPEARE'S OWN CONFESSION OF THE AUTHORSHIP SHAM.

By Henry Seymour.

> One of these men is genius to the other:
> And so of these, which is the naturall man,
> And which the spirit? Who deciphers them?—
> *The Comedie of Errors.*

ONE of the unanswerable arguments of the Baconians is the fact that the author "Shakespeare" has put upon record, in plain and unmistakable language, that his name is only a feigned one and not his actual name at all. *Vide* Sonnet 76.

Here is matter for serious consideration to be sure, but how much attention has been paid to it by the pundits of orthodox literary criticism? Volumes have been written about the allegorical and ambiguous character of the Sonnets as a whole. The literary "experts" have postulated all kinds of conjecture and hypothesis with the avowed object of interpreting their inner meaning and purpose. Their achievements, however, when carefully summed up, have contributed nothing to the point.

There is one Sonnet, however, already referred to which is not by any means ambiguous, but, on the contrary, is peculiarly direct and pregnant with meaning. Why have the Shakesperean commentators fought so shy of it? For this particular Sonnet must surely be regarded intrinsically as the most important in the series, inasmuch as it contains so startling a revelation concerning the personality of their author.

The obvious inference to be drawn from such a revelation is that the Stratfordian flat-earthers have all along been foolishly worshipping the wrong god—a mere graven image—in their idolatrous aberrations.

For the convenience of easy reference is appended a reprint of the Sonnet numbered 76, with the arrangement of the lines and the spelling of the words exactly as they appear in the original edition dated 1609, printed at London by G. Eld for T.T.

76

WHY is my verse so barren of new pride?
So far from variation or quicke change?
Why with the time do I not glance aside
To new found methods, and to compounds strange?
Why write I still all one, ever the same,
And keepe invention in a noted weed,
That every word doth almost fel my name,
Shewing their birth, and where they did proceed?
O know sweet love I alwaies write of you,
And you and love are still my argument:
So all my best is dressing old words new,
Spending againe what is already spent:
For as the Sun is daily new and old,
So is my love still telling what is told.

It will be seen that the second quatrain carries the quintessence of the revelation referred to. And it will scarcely be necessary to explain to informed persons that the word "invention" implied, in 17th century lingo, such works of the imagination as poesy or fables as contradistinguished from historical or such-like literature. In *Venus and Adonis* (1593), the author, in the Dedication, apologizes for its defects, by reason of its being "the first heir of my invention." Sidney, Peele, Webbe, Harvey, Marston and others employed the word in such sense. And the word "weed" meant *disguise*. See Marlowe's *Edward II*, Hall's *Satires*, Bacon's *Henry VII*, and notably Bacon's *Prayer*, written late in life, wherein the phrase occurs—that he had procured the good of all men "though in a despised weed."

The only doubtful word in the Sonnet which need engage attention is the word *fel* in the seventh line. There is something enigmatical about it. By many critics it has been regarded as a mere misprint for *sel*, or *tel*, either of which conforms agreeably to the context. The latter "correction" has found most favour, and I think rightly so. The word *tel* is an Old English word (from *tellen*) which

means *to count*. It has also another meaning—to *inform*. The *double entente* is significant. For the line of the quatrain—"That every word doth almost *tell* my name"—may conceivably suggest the counting of every word in the quatrain, which amount to 32, and which is suspiciously "almost" 33! another significant indication. Contrariwise or otherwise, it may suggest the counting of the numerical value of the letters f. e. l. which amount to 22.*

In consideration of the foregoing, it may not seem impertinent to attempt an enquiry, whether, in view of so pointed a reference to feigned authorship, the real name of the author is somewhere or somehow concealed in the text of the Sonnet itself. The precedents for such a practice are numerous amongst Elizabethan writers who, when obliged to appear anonymously or pseudonymously from political, social, or other motives, resorted to the hiding of their real names, not only by numbers, but in anagrams, acrostics, and the like. These were generally inserted most cunningly amongst letter-groups of title-pages. Sometimes these devices were connected with the initial capital letters of lines of verse, or to the initial letters of words in some conspicuous position, and not infrequently to whole letters of a couplet or quatrain.

Let us commence our enquiry, therefore, by examining the initial letters of the Sonnet, and see what results. These initial letters run consecutively from top to bottom, as follows:

W S W T W A T S O A S S F S

It appears difficult to extract a more coherent anagram out of this limited assortment of letters than

W.S. W.S. WAS A SOTT.†

But even this leaves out of account the two final letters,

* Secret communications by such means of expressing words by numbers were practised amongst Elizabethan authors. See J. Swan's *Speculum Mundi*, 1635.

† Words were frequently used with double terminals at that time.

F and S, which are redundant. If such an anagram was intentional, it would seem to refer to the impersonated pseudo-author Shakspere, the actor, whose drinking habits were certainly notorious. Such a revelation, however, is not exactly what we are seeking, and we must go farther.

Now, the fact that the two final letters are redundant may mean that they are not to be taken in, being initials of lines inset from the others of the text, and may also mean that a further revelation is to be looked for in these two particular lines. Let us consequently consider the initial letters* of all the words of these two lines. They run in sequence thus:

F A T S I D N A O S I M L S T W I T

We have already noted the significance of the number 33 and we have only to note the first and last three letters of the group to suspect that we are on the right track. If we re-shuffle the whole of the letters we have no difficulty in drawing out the following anagram, which almost leaps to the eye.

T. DISSIMWLATION. F. AS T.

The strange appearance of the double U for the single U has possibly another significant purpose, especially when the point of the anagram is considered. For we may now feel tolerably certain that the word *fel* was a designed error by way of camouflage for *tel*. And as previously hazarded, it was doubtless done to signalize the number 22. To the uninitiated these two details will appear frivolous, but the cryptographer knows how to profit by them. We are told quite plainly by these incidental "errors" (if we are conversant with all the cypher methods of the period) that the secret alphabet of Trithemius is being employed in the device, which, unlike the Elizabethan alphabet of 24 letters†, contained but 22, and also in which the letters U, V, and W always were used interchangeably, and were given the same numerical value, as also i, j, and y.

* The earliest of modern cryptographers was the Abbot J. Trithemius who invariably constructed his cypher on the initial letters of words of his exterior text. His *Polygraphia* was published in 1499.

† Vide Mulcaster, Swan, Bacon, Jonson, and others.

Being so far encouraged to follow the scent, or to chase the hare, as Dr. Wallis put it, let us now attempt to anagrammatize the whole of the letters in the two lines. By experimental divisions of detached groups we ascertain the suggestion of words, in a lengthy anagram, by the law of contiguous letters upon which anagram construction is usually based. For example take the first ten letters, and the word *authors* immediately falls out, with two or three letters left over, which are ear-marked to fill in another word or words which are short. After several trials and eliminations, as also variations in *word* transpositions, the following laconic sentences may be constructed:

AUTHOR'S NAME IS HIDD. FOLLOW SLY GUIDES.
SONNET INITIALS TWO DYALLS TELL.

We now appear to have reached a farther stage towards the elucidation of the puzzle. The method of gradual unfoldment is curious, as though the author desired to select his readers.

The final sentence of the anagram makes it quite certain, at length, that it is by the alphabet and special method of Trithemius only that the secret is to be discovered. The Elizabethan alphabet of 24 letters would fail to extract it at all. The reference to "two dyalls" is ample confirmation of the Trithemius hypothesis for it was he who originated the two-dial (or wheel-cypher) system, which was fully described and illustrated in his Latin treatise, *Clavis Steganographiae*, published at Frankfort in 1606, long after his decease, and just three years prior to the publication of "Shake-speare's Sonnets." It has been suggested that Francis Bacon was in some way concerned in its publication and the curious allusion in Leigh's *Fœlix Consortius* (1663) lends colour to it. The allusion is a reference to "John Baconthorpe a Trithemius and others call him Bacon."

We must now consider the essential difference between the conventional Elizabethan anagram and that of Trithemius. The former, as we have seen, consisted of a simple transposition of certain letters of a text, so as to convey, in

the different sequence, a new hidden communication. The latter was a more deeply concealed method, whereby certain *significant* letters of a text were not, in themselves, used to form the anagram but were merely key-letters to be transposed into the real letters of the anagram by means of a secret key-number. Even then, these letters only constituted half the required number to complete the anagram, and so led nowhere. The other half of the letters were actually non-existent in the text, but had to be constructed by the same key-letters over again into a further set of letters. The same *significant* letters were used as before, but in a different arithmetical series.

To those unable to get access to the Latin originals of Trithemius and Selenus (the latter of whom in 1624 supplemented and elaborated the labours of the former) it may be useful to briefly describe this method of cypher-writing, and illustrate its peculiar *modus operandi*. The two dial, or double-alphabet, method is fully illustrated in the *Clavis Steganographiae*. Two discs or dials are cut out, one smaller than the other, and on each is inscribed the 22 letters of the Trithemius alphabet in regular sequence around the edge of each, after the manner of figures upon our clock dials. The object of making one smaller than the other is to enable each alphabetical series to be visible together, when fastened in the centre by a pin or pivot, so that they each may rotate upon a common axis. By means of the movement of the smaller dial, any letter or series of letters may be brought into juxtaposition or matched with any other letter or series of letters of the larger dial, so that in any given position the letters of one may be transposed into the letters of the other.

In using the initial letters of his text as cyphers, or key-letters, he noted each of these as they appeared on the small dial (when the two dials were in correct correlation with each other) and for each of these, the corresponding letters of the large dial were the true anagrammatic letters.

In practice, the larger dial remained stationary, and the smaller dial, for its key positions, had to be moved, first to the left and then to the right, so many points. In other

words, the two dials were set at zero—A equalling A—at the outset, and only the smaller dial was moved so many positions to the left, when the key-letters (in the case under consideration, the Sonnet initials) were picked out and the corresponding letters of the larger dial were carefully written down. The same process was repeated by next turning the smaller dial *so many positions to the right.* The final result was that just double as many letters as constituted the key-letters, was brought into use, which was an ingenious idea of splitting up the Cypher itself into two elements, neither of which could be interpreted without the other. But some further secret device had to be employed or suggested by means of which these two respective movements (one to the left, the other to the right) might be indicated. Sometimes, conspicuous letters would appear about the cyphered text whose numerical values would serve as the necessary guide. "Shakespeare" has, in the present instance, devised the number of the Sonnet itself to perform that service, which is nothing short of a masterpiece of subtlety.

All that remains to be done, therefore, is to move the small dial to the *seventh* position on the left, and to the *sixth* position on the right; in each case noting the key-letters and their letter transpositions on the large dial. These respective positions, shewing the relativity of the two alphabetical letter-series will be clearly seen by the accompanying diagrams.

Seventh Position on the Left.

Sixth Position on the Right.

The secret key-letters of the Sonnet initials, as already noted, are

W S W T W A T S O A S S

By means of the aforesaid double-dial movements these letters are automatically transposed into

Left: O M O N | **O R N M** | H R M M
Right: C A C B | **C F B A** | T F A A

Now, if we resolve these two lines of letters anagrammatically we get two complete signatures.

M. FR. BACON. M. FR. BACON.

There are, however, eight letters not used, and it is the perfection of an anagram that every letter is accounted for. But there are certain noteworthy exceptions to the rule, which are that *repeated* letters, when not required, may be ruled out. And with regard to the letter H, a special provision is made, being noted by Camden in his *Remaines*, that it may always be *added* or rejected.

If therefore, we reject the letter H of the first line, and, logically, the letter T of the second line, of which it is but a counterpart, together with the other superfluous letters which are all repeats of the letters once used in the anagram, then we may say that the double anagram of *M. Fr. Bacon* is doubly conclusive.

There is yet another alternative by taking the afore mentioned 8 superfluous letters and turning them into an anagram, when appears

M A T C H M = A O.

This may be classed as a cypher within a cypher, for if we transpose the letters of the signature already obtained, by the M = A cypher, which figures conspicuously in the first and second printed pages of the First Folio of "Shakespeare" plays, we obtain the following serial letters:

A R F N M O C B

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T U X Z
M N O P Q R S T U X Z A B C D E F G H J K L

The remarkable thing about this is that although each letter of the signature-name is converted into another entirely different, the same signature-name comes out again by mere anagrammatical transposition!

In conclusion, it seems impossible that such results, taken as a whole, all cunningly intricate and yet perfect in all parts, and vouched by unquestionable historical precedent, could ever, by any chance, have come about by mere accident. The odds against are overwhelming. I beg leave to suggest, therefore, that these ingenious devices were designed in advance by the author himself, who was apparently none other than Master Francis Bacon, spensered and sponsored by the noted "Shakespeare" weed.

The Annual Dinner of the Bacon Society will be held on Monday, January 22nd, at 7 for 7-30 p.m., in the Victoria Hall, Criterion Restaurant, Piccadilly, W.1. Tickets may be obtained from the Hon. Treasurer, Mr. L. Biddulph, Down Lodge, Clareville Road, Caterham, Surrey, at 7s. 6d. each.

A CRITICISM OF THE "OXFORD" THEORY OF THE AUTHORSHIP OF "SHAKESPEARE."

(The substance of a lecture given at Canonbury Tower on 1st Sep. 1932)

By HOWARD BRIDGEWATER.

THE Life story of Edward de Vere as "William Shakespeare," by my friend, Mr. Percy Allen, denotes in the author years of painstaking research, as the result of which he brings to light much information which will form valuable links in the chain of evidence that goes to the solution of the mystery of "Shakespeare."

Mr. Allen is of course at one with us in his contempt of the "miracle" or *Morning Post* authorship theory; the *Morning Post* being the chief unabashed exponent of those few remaining critics who retain the idea that there are no bounds to the marvels that can spring from genius. According to that newspaper, and those people, a potman, poultry-man or porter, given only the indefinite quality of genius, can, without any special study or training, become not merely the greatest poet the world has ever produced, but a poet able to manifest a profound knowledge of Law, of the philosophy and mythology of the ancients, ancient and modern languages, medicine, botany, etc., etc.

Mr. Percy Allen considers with us that that is the kind of story which might have been told to the more gullible of the marines of 300 years ago with some prospect of its being swallowed, but that it is not one which to-day one would expect to find given much credence amongst intelligent people; notwithstanding that it is still lapped up by the great Saint Bernard (Shaw), and that other saint, Mr. St. John Ervine, who does not hesitate to describe as "demented" those who cannot stomach it.

Mr Allen is also at one with us in thinking that if there is in the immortal plays proof of anything, it is that the author of them was an aristocrat, and we think that this nobleman must have been a man gifted with that infinite

capacity for study which stands as the best definition of genius.

Unfortunately for Mr. Allen he is unable to adduce any evidence worth speaking of to show that Lord Oxford was of a studious disposition, though there is certainly any amount of evidence to prove that not a few of his many undesirable characteristics were present in the mind of the author of "Shakespeare": indeed Lord Oxford is admitted by Mr. Allen himself to be impersonated as Claudio in *Measure for Measure*. But I find nothing at all to connect him with the plays, as the possible author of them, beyond the following reference in the sonnets:—

> "Were't aught to me I bore the canopy
> With my externe the outward honouring."

So far as I am aware this statement would not be applicable to Sir Francis Bacon. There may, however, be some other explanation of it. References are certainly made, here and there, in the plays to events connected with the history of Lord Oxford's family, but so they are to Burleigh and many other notabilities of the time; but these references by no means necessarily connote authorship.

One of the de Vere ancestors, Mr. Allen thinks, is referred to in the sonnets in the lines

> "O that record could with a backward look,
> even of five hundred courses of the sun."

for no reason apparently but that 500 years before the sonnets were written, his ancestor being at the Crusades, legend has it that a star alighted upon his standard and shone there. But it is of course nothing but sheer surmise that the lines quoted refer to this de Vere incident. Mr. Allen relates also how, in the time of King John, one of the Earls of Oxford took up arms in defence of British liberties, and, on the strength of this, considers that the play of King John takes on an added interest, for the reason that the national and anti-Roman Catholic spirit of King John, as represented in the lines

> ". . . No Italian priest
> Shall tithe and toll in our dominions."

is consonant with the patriotism displayed by the Third Earl of Oxford. It unfortunately happens, however, that Edward de Vere, the supposed author, was for a time a Catholic, or at least intriguing with that party.

Having taken credit for the fact that the Lancastrian pedigree of the de Veres explains the alleged Lancastrian leaning of the plays, Mr. Allen has to admit that he is not satisfied with the Oxfordian authorship of Richard III because of the monster that that King is therein made out to be. But obstacles of that kind have no terrors for Mr. Allen. He simply leaps over them. As Richard III cannot be made to fit in with his theory of Lord Oxford as the author of "Shakespeare," he gets over the difficulty by the delightful expedient of discarding the play as being non-Shakespearean: Henry VIII is similarly discarded. According to Mr. Allen it is, for all its beauty, not pucca "Shakespeare." You see there are incidents in that play which date it as having been written long after Lord Oxford was dead and buried!

I might have said at the beginning that the Oxford theory was still-born, for the very good reason that Lord Oxford died in 1604 whereas the authorities are agreed that a full baker's dozen of the best plays were not heard of (neither played nor published) until 1623, when the first folio edition of "Shakespeare" made its appearance.

It would seem to me that to rob "Shakespeare" of *Richard III* and *Henry VIII* would be analagous to robbing Wagner of *Tannhauser* or to filch from Schubert his *Unfinished Symphony*.

This necessity to pick and choose amongst the Plays and dictatorially to suggest that this one or that is not true gold from the mint is one of the surest signs of the weakness of the Oxford case.

This process of disintegration would, if it could be justified, leave Mr. Allen's hero little or nothing to inherit. For if Richard III. and Henry VIII. are not true "Shakespeare," there must have been another author of equally transcendent genius in existence at this time. But it is not merely another "Shakespeare" that Mr.

Allen would create: it is a whole host of "Shakespeares," for he speaks of the Oxford "group" as being possibly responsible for this Play—a proposition which can only be entertained if one be willing to believe that literary genii of the first magnitude were as common in the Elizabethan era as blackberries in September. But that would be merely to exchange the traditional authorship-miracle for another no more worthy of acceptance: for if anything is clear about "Shakespeare" it is that it is the work of a man supreme among men. It is entirely purposeless to seek the author if he is to be found only as one of many equally great. It is not the conductor, as it were, of a band of minstrels whom we seek, but the mighty personality of him who wrote as no human being has written before or since. The only aid which the author of "Shakespeare" can reasonably be supposed to have had is such as might have been rendered by amanuenses employed to make fair copies of those originals which were hammered out as the result of that second heat upon the anvil of his mind to which Ben Jonson refers as being the labour necessarily precedent to the creation of an immortal line.

The following points may be taken as a typical example of those by means of which Mr. Allen seeks to support his theory. The 15th Earl married an heiress, Elizabeth Trussell, whose family crest was a candle-holder. This lady, he says, comes directly into the scene of the Verona tragedy wherein Romeo declines to take part in the Capulet's ball.

> "A torch for me (says Romeo) let wantons light of heart
> Tickle the senseless rushes with their heels;
> For I am proverb'd with a grandsire phrase:
> I'll be a candle holder and look on.
> The game was ne'er so fair and I am done.
> *Mer.* Tut, dun's the mouse, the constable's own word.
> If thou art dun, we'll draw thee from the mire.

Here, says Mr. Allen, Romeo-Oxford tells us quite plainly that he prefers to be what his grandmother was, a Trussell (candle-holder) or torch bearer, and look on. Whereupon Mercutio, picking up Oxford's "I am done," follows with a series of puns upon "done" and "dun" by way of

reminder that Elizabeth Trussell's grandfather was a Sir John Dun!

In the presence of some real evidence indicating Oxford as the author of the plays such coincidences would form a valuable bulwark thereof. But in the absence of any such evidence it is surely stretching inference too far to claim that because there was a candle holder in the coat of arms of one of the Oxford ancestors, or because it has been ascertained that at one time in the history of this large family there was someone of the name of Dun, that therefore the writer of the plays had in mind Elizabeth Trussell when thinking of Romeo's grandsire. Even if the reference was suggested by the Trussell coat of arms might it not merely indicate that the writer, well acquainted with Oxford, had interested himself in the family genealogy and had taken occasion to weave the torch-holding reference into Romeo and Juliet?

And because one of Oxford's ancestors was on his tomb, cut in alabaster, Mr. Allen draws the conclusion that that is necessarily the tomb referred to in "The Merchant of Venice," by Gratiano, when he says

> "Why should a man whose blood is warm within
> Sit like his grandsire cut in alabaster."

The trouble with that is the fact that the effigies of so many of our nobles' ancestors have been cut in alabaster. Mr. Allen thinks it is memory and not imagination that dictates the poet's words when Hamlet soliloquises upon Yorick, "Alas, poor Yorick, I knew him Horatio, a fellow of most infinite jest, of most excellent fancy: he hath borne me on his back a thousand times." But might that not apply equally well, or better, to Francis Bacon?

Time precludes me from quoting more of these coincidences, which, however, are so convincing to Mr. Allen that with no better points than those I have given you he is able to burst out with this assertion that "being denied foreign travel he (Lord Oxford) turned, in fulfilment of God's high pleasure and for the world's inestimable benefit towards the ruling passion of his life, literature." That confident assertion is made before we have been given

any proof that Oxford ever wrote anything at all worth speaking about! Unless you read Oxford's life story carefully you are apt to miss its inconsistencies. Let me give you an example. One of the things which one can say about the Plays without fear of contradiction is that the author of them had a great admiration for Italy. Did Oxford have this? No! for he wrote to Burleigh "For my liking of Italy my Lord, I am glad to have seen it, and I care not ever to see it any more. . . I thought to have seen Spain but by Italy I guess the worst." Mr. Allen, of course, tries to explain this away, but I think it perfectly clear that Oxford was not at all favourably impressed with Italy. Yet a few pages later we find Mr. Allen definitely stating that the de Veres regarded France and Italy as the living homes of the renaissance of art, intellectuality and aestheticism: and suggesting that his quarrels with Burleigh were due partly to difference of opinion on this subject! As regards Oxford's literary capacity it certainly was not great if we do not believe him to have written "Shakespeare." There is a preface to some book, which, if he wrote it, is good and there is the Echo verse, which is not very good and which, moreover, bespeaks the conceited coxcomb that he was.

In "All's Well that Ends Well" Bertram is made, by subterfuge, to lie with his fiancée. I am happy to find myself fully in agreement with Mr. Allen in thinking that Oxford is personified in the character of Bertram, for he, continuing obstinately apart from his wife, a plot was laid (as we are told by Wright in his "History of Essex") whereby it was actually brought about that, thinking her to be another woman, he slept with her—in consequence of which she bore him a son. Now Parolles the clown in *All's Well* says of Bertram "He will look upon his boot and sing. . .pick his teeth and sing. I know a man that had this trick of melancholy sold a goodly manor for a song." "All this, says Mr. Allen is pure Oxford, for his trick of tooth-picking is laughed at by Jonson again and again. But whereas Mr. A. thinks all this proves that Oxford wrote the Plays of Shakespeare I would respectfully

hazard the suggestion that it merely shows that he was the original of one of the most despicable characters therein portrayed.

If Lord Oxford's men, as they do, engage in a fight with Knyvet's men, Mr. Allen immediately sees in the circumstance the mainspring of the street faction brawls that so disturbed the peace of the Montagues and Capulets in *Romeo and Juliet*. Let us suppose that it *was*. Would that make Oxford the author of the Play? Not at all—unless you could show that no other likely author ever heard of this and such other incidents. But the town was agog with the news of this fight for which Oxford I believe was sent to the Tower by Queen Elizabeth. I would remind you that Lord Oxford was for a time a student at Gray's Inn. He would, therefore, be known to Francis Bacon: his peculiar peccadilloes as well as his family's history.

It comes to this that I have been able to find with Mr. Allen's help numerous incidents in the life of Lord Oxford that are alluded to in the Plays, while Oxford himself is certainly characterised in the less agreeable parts. But I find nothing whatever to indicate Oxford as the author of them. Of the sonnets, however, I am not so sure that they are not in places autobiographically Oxfordian. If they are, then the explanation would be that they were finally edited by the master pen of Francis Bacon in his younger days. I have never felt myself that the sonnets, which are mostly of a morbid tone, were the direct expression of the mind of the author of the Plays. Had they been I should have expected to find them published with the thirty-six Plays in the great folio edition. But they were not published therewith—for the reason perhaps that I have suggested.

I shall now ask you to consider the type of man Oxford was and whether (apart altogether from the fact, that he died in 1604—whereas so many of the plays were published for the first time in 1623) he is the kind of gentleman at all likely to have been the author of them.

It seems that Queen Elizabeth at one time delighted in

his personage, his dancing and his valiantness, and that if it were not for his "fickle head" he would have outdistanced the other courtiers in her favour. Later, however, there was question whether he was not a traitor. Loud the buzz of talk in court circles when the news reached Walsingham that my Lord of Oxford and Lord Seymour are fled out of England, and passed by Bruges to Brussels, in which city the Earl of Westmoreland, attainted for complicity in the rebellion of 1569 was still in exile. "What, has the boy turned Catholic then"? Jubilation among the Romans, wrath and dismay among the loyal Protestants. He was brought home again by Thos. Bedingfield when upon making full submission he was restored to Her Majesty's favour. Describing a portrait of him Mr. Allen says it is "so feminine in expression as to account at once for the charge of womanishness which is one of the stock criticisms that were at the time levelled against him by Harvey, Jonson, Chapman and others". Mr. Allen does not attempt to rebut this charge. His attire he says "verged always" on the fantastic. And have we not he says heard Barnabe Rich describing that strangely frenchified individual whom we took to be Oxford himself, riding down the Strand . . "in his hand a great fan of feathers, bearing them up very womanly against the side of his face?" Mr. Allen doesn't in the least mind quoting such matters if in any part of "Shakespeare" he fancies he describes some allusion to him. In the phrase in *Henry VI* "wrapt in a woman's hide" he thinks he finds Oxford's womanishness.

While his wife was giving birth to a daughter, Oxford was having a good time in Paris, and a letter concerning his wife's sorrow at his absence at this time makes piteous reading. Being earlier informed that his wife was with child he said that if she were it was not his. Mr. Allen agrees that his wife was innocent since the legitimacy of the child was never called in question. Yet he considers that Oxford was an idealist in his regard for women!

Mr. Allen's explanation of the hiatus of nineteen years which exists between Oxford's death in 1604 and the pub-

lication of the plays in 1623 is that they were probably discovered in a lumber room of Brook House when it passed so many years later into the hands of some other member of the family. But is that in the least likely? I think not: I think we should have heard something of this discovery. And if, as Mr. Allen suggests, Oxford received £1000 for writing the plays for the purpose of stimulating patriotism, would they not have been preserved in the Record Office? And if they were written for this purpose why is it that so many of them were not published until nineteen years after Oxford's death? The Queen always wanted full value for her money and would have taken good care to see that she got it.

In fine, I do not think that "Shakespeare" could have been written by an effeminate prig and wife-slanderer such as Mr. Allen admits Lord Oxford to have been: whoever the author was he must have been essentially noble, generous and just.

DUGALD STEWART ON THE SUBLIME GENIUS OF FRANCIS BACON.

By Alicia A. Leith.

WE know from Francis Bacon himself that his leisure was devoted to what he cared most for, Arts and Sciences. And this Professor Stewart completely realises in what he calls the "Comprehensive genius of Bacon," who in his division of the whole field of knowledge has one entire province allotted to the art of Poetry while the magnificent design conceived by Bacon of enumerating, defining, and classifying the multifarious objects of human knowledge, says Stewart, is a design on the successful accomplishment of which he himself believed the advancement of the Sciences essentially depended.

Stewart explains that Poetry with Bacon is used to mean all the Arts addressed to the Imagination. The "glory of Bacon's genius," he finds exhibited in the deep sagacity with which he points out unknown tracts to be explored by human curiosity; and in the minuteness of his information and the wideness of his views. In the liberality and independence of this "philosophic artist," in the contemplation of higher pursuit, Stewart is lost in admiration.

Bacon, says our author, surpassed all his predecessors in his knowledge of the laws, resources and limits of the human understanding, while he seems to have studied the subject of Imagination with peculiar care. In one short but beautiful passage concerning *Poetry* (under which title may be comprehended the various creations of this faculty) Bacon exhausted, says Stewart, everything that philosophy and good sense have yet had to offer on what has since been called the *Beau Ideal*. Hallam quotes these words of Stewart with regard to Francis Bacon. Stewart himself spoke much of the foregoing in a Discourse at the opening of the Royal Academy, Jan. 2., 1769. In Bacon's suggestions for exalting Imagination, Stewart sees the later pretensions of Mesmer and Perkins.*

* Elisha Perkins, American Doctor, who advocated Animal Magnetism for cure of all manner of diseases.

The Professor tells it was in the Scottish Universities that the philosophy of Locke as well as that of Newton was first adopted as a branch of Academical education, knowing full well that they were both indebted for their views to Bacon. Stewart finds Bacon at least equal to Locke and is surprised by finding him not once mentioning the name of his great predecessor.

Unlike Spinoza, who was fully aware of the justness, importance and originality of Bacon's methods for the studying of the mind, Stewart holds that Locke was no stranger to the philosophical works of Bacon, and that though to-day ideas of this sort are common, yet different was the case centuries ago.

The superiority of Bacon's genius is shown, says Stewart, in the small volume of his Essays that may be read in a few hours, yet after the twentieth perusal one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before, furnishing unexampled aliment to our own thoughts and sympathetic activity to our minds.

Stewart is impressed by Bacon's profoundly comprehensive views for improvement of political Philosophy, and the precise notion he formed of a philosophical system of Jurisprudence, and that the ultimate object legislators ought to have in view is that citizens may live happily.

Stewart imputes wide influence to Bacon. He names him one of four, Bacon, Descartes, Leibnitz and Locke, who contributed most to diffuse philosophical spirit over Europe. The remark applies more peculiarly to Bacon, who first pointed out the advantage of learned Academies for enlarging the field of scientific curiosity.

This profound and sympathetic admirer finds Bacon fortunate in outstripping the ordinary march of human reason, and extols his bold prophetic imagination. He mentions Bacon's favourite expression "to break up," quoting: "These and like conceits, when men have cleared their understanding by the light of experience will scatter and break up like mist." He finds of paramount importance to Bacon the education of the People. Comparing "the effects of early culture on the understanding and

the heart to the abundant harvest which rewards the diligent husband-man for the toils of the spring.'' He shows the effect of the labours of Boyle, Newton and the other experimentalists trained in Bacon's School in Paris, and produced in France before D'Alembert. No writer, he says, seems ever to have felt more deeply than Bacon that he belonged to a later and more enlightened age. Our author notes that Dr. Burnet in his Preface to his Translation of More's *Utopia*, holds ''Bacon was the first that writ our language correctly,'' and eulogises him as ''still our best author.'' Stewart commends Ben Jonson as one of the few contemporary writers by whom the transcendent genius of Bacon appears to have been justly appreciated, and the only one he knew of who has transmitted any idea of his forensic eloquence. He quotes Ben and says no finer description of this art is to be found in any other author, ancient or modern. Moved to much pleasure by the posthumous praise lavished on Bacon by Ben Jonson and Sir Kenelm Digby, he says he must have been marked by some rare features of moral as of intellectual greatness for this to have been the case. A particular point is made by Stewart of the ready access Bacon found wherever he went to the most enlightened society in Europe, while none of his suggestions can compare in value to his illustration of the prejudice or idols which mislead us from the pure worship of Truth. His peculiar merit in Stewart's eyes was the inspiration he gave his followers to abandon the beaten path, and make excursion into regions untrodden before. He quotes the Nov. Organ; where Bacon recommends students of Science to rise occasionally above the level of their habitual pursuits, by gaining the vantage ground of a higher philosophy; ''an allusion not more logically appropriate, than poetically beautiful,'' says this clear-sighted and ardent critic. ''One which probably suggested to Cowley comparison of Bacon's prophetic anticipations of the future progress of experimental philosophy to the distant land which Moses enjoyed from the top of Mount Pisgah.''

One more point particularly mentioned by Stewart is

what he calls the *Ipsissima-Verba* of Bacon, which every person much conversant with his works regards with a sort of religious reverence, and which certainly lays hold of the imagination and of the memory with peculiar facility and force. His repetition of the same words shows what Bacon wished understood, made with an air of triumph.

These last three words express perhaps better than any others the feeling that Professor Stewart's strong appreciation of Francis Bacon and his extraordinary genius inspires us with. Here we have before us unbiassed admiration of him as both Artsman and Moralist, from one *who knows*. Dugald Stewart was a Scottish Mathematician and Philosopher, b. 1753, Professor of Mathematics, Edinburgh, 1775, of Moral Philosophy 1785-1820. Published "Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind," 1792-1827. "Philosophical Essay," 1810; "View of the Active and Moral Powers," 1828, d. 1828.

BACON'S RE-BIRTH.

By M. F. Bayley.

(A lecture given at Canonbury Tower on 6th July, 1933).

FRANCIS BACON, in his cypher story, speaks of being the son of Elizabeth and Leicester, and the fact that he went to Cambridge as a Fellow Commoner wearing a special cap and gown, privileges only shared by his foster brother, Anthony Bacon (and later by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex), points to his being of high birth. Also he enters Gray's Inn under exceptional circumstances which annoyed the ancients of that Inn. This would single him out from the ordinary younger sons of gentlemen and even those of highest birth. If so, it is in itself a renaissance from the accepted view that he was the younger son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, and his wife, Anne Cooke, both quite ordinary folks.

Another renaissance is concerned with that wonderful mass of literature which he passed off under the names of others (as he told King James), which is waiting for the moment when it will be truly known to be his own, and can safely be claimed for him. It is so vast that a life-time of study and research is needed to touch only the fringe of the subject, and our thanks go out to those pioneers who have already worked in this field. The late Mr. W. F. C. Wigston is to be read and pondered if we are to make any headway in this mystery.

To begin with, no "*group theory*" can be admitted. Doubtless, sons of the lamp and faithful pens may have toiled on certain unessential portions of this literature, but the inception and conception was that of Francis Bacon. It was indeed a new birth, for this literature differed from all that had gone before. The marrying of Nature with Art, as Mr. Wigston points out, is his idea.

Connubis Jungam Stabili is written in the paper in front of him in the Marshall portrait. His outward works, the De Augmentis, the 1640 Advancement of Learning, the

Wisdom of the Ancients, all corroborate and explain the long trail of literature under the names of Peele, Greene, Spenser and Shakespeare; and his 2nd Period, i.e., that Mr. Roe speaks of in his Defoe Period. Running through the whole of this literature is a common cord or thread of almost divine purpose, linking them together, a real *Filium Labyrinthii*, which should be diligently sought for by students of this unique literature.

Remember Ben Jonson said he had "outdone insolent Greece and haughty Rome;" only by accepting his dictum that Bacon was the mark and acme of our language can we believe this incredible thing.

Through most of this literature runs a thread of things apparently insoluble, but being solved, mysteries brought into the light of day and completely comprehended. The divorce of will and reason made one in finding will and reason to be the same. The lost are found, the dead even found to be alive. Mr. Wigston has pointed out that eternal war was the great doctrine of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and he shows how Bacon works on this principle all through his literature. The principle of war and peace, the strife of matter and spirit, the doctrine of separation and reconciliation as shown in the *Winter's Tale*, the separation of Hermione and Leontes, closing with their reconciliation; and the story of Pericles, whose lost child Marina brings about the reconciliation of the mother and father. Dante also worked on this theme and was I think the great poet spoken of in Sonnet 86. "Was it the proud full sail of his great Verse" alludes to Dante, who uses the metaphor of a Bark in the Purgatorio, and also again in the Paradiso, Canto II, a Bark in which Beatrice was the Captain or Admiral.

Dante was initiated into the 9 Degrees of the Knight Templars, so Mr. Wigston tells us.

In a letter by Chapman (*I think by Francis Bacon*) to Sir Ralph Sadleir, Chapman says he was initiated into Templarism by Sir Ralph Sadleir's father who lived at the Temple in Hertfordshire. Nothing is known of George Chapman, and Sir Ralph Sadleir's house is not far from Gorhambury. Some people think Chapman is meant by

the Great Poet and Miss Leith thought perhaps Ronsard was. But Mr. Wigston points out that *Dante* is meant by:—

"Was it the proud full sail of his Great Verse,
Bound for the prize of all too precious you
That did my ripe thoughts in my brain inherse.
Making their tomb the womb wherein they grew."

PARADISO CANTO II. 1.

O ye who fain would listen to my song,
Following in little bark full eagerly,
My venturous ship, that chanting hies along,
Turn and behold your native shores again:
Tempt not the deep, less haply losing one
In unknown paths bewildered ye remain.
I am the first this voyage to essay.
Minerva breathes—Apollo is my guide
And new born muses do the Bears display.
Ye other few who have looked on high
For angel's food betimes, e'en have supplied
Largely but not enough to satisfy.
Mid the deep ocean ye your course may take
My track pursuing the pure waters through
Ere reunites the quickly closing wake.

This seems to point to Dante, and that Bacon took him as his guide and may explain the *Bark* which sails on so many of his title pages.

Mr. Wigston says: "Suppose Shakespeare, taking up "Plato and renewing touch with the Classic world, pro- "posed to himself to take up the challenge thrown down "in the tenth book of the Republic. Let us imagine "further he was so far in advance of his age, that *art* and "profound art only could become the vehicle of his "philosophical and other opinions. Might he not marry "philosophy to poetry and embody the entire Platonical "ideal conception of the Universe in his art? Should "he not be thus enabled to imitate the dual unity of "nature without and within at once, not only in reticence "and secrecy, but in Eternity and spiritual tendency also?

". . . . awaiting the fore of men's intellect through "posterity to give him a *rebirth through revelation*." (My italics).

"For every line that he wrote would redeem him from the Tomb," as Leonard Digges indeed prophesied.

Mr. Wigston here shows that perhaps this wonderful art which proclaims the divinity of his Art with the divinity of nature will some day proclaim him author of this or that "whether his name be to it or no."

Simpson, on the Sonnets, says:—"The Philosophy of "Love will be proved the key to Shakespeare's Sonnets, "explaining them as they stand, without obliging us to "put them in a new arbitrary order or to await bio-"graphical facts to fit their allusions." And yet I think this does not alter the fact that our consummate alchemist has woven into this Platonic Philosophy the salient facts of his life as pointed out by Mr. J. E. Roe, and lately by Mr. Alfred Dodd. Wigston agrees with Simpson, but says the key is Shakespeare's own *Art* and that the love Philosophy is *Creation*.

Wigston also says: "What people want to know is why Bacon allowed another to enjoy his proper rights. We believe it was the peculiar character of Bacon's mind which was at the bottom of it. His whole life was bent upon a revolution of philosophy and the reformation of society. (see Jaques). Here he joins *hands* with the Rosicrucians. His subtle intellect conceived the idea of imitating the Creator's secrecy. The plays commenced to go to the theatre anonymously and they had to continue so. But the character of Bacon's mind as exemplified in his works is the subtlest that the world has ever known. His ubiquitous wit never wearies, by turns lawyer, statesman, natural scientist, antiquarian, thoroughly despising the philosophy of the Greeks and Romans, calling the former Children, and overthrowing Aristotle at sixteen and going back to the Egyptians, Persians and Chaldees for original authority."

This is a wonderful appreciation of that God-like intellect and Mr. Wigston is one who has done more to make Francis Bacon known than any other writer. Only now

are the Shakespeare plays beginning to come into their own, and people are trying to find out what they mean.

If these plays contain Platonic philosophy Bacon's own theories, cipher inner plays, and cipher history of Francis Bacon's life, his own method of handing on the lamp of tradition to posterity, how are we to accept the group theory, or the idea that the very mediocre Earl of Oxford wrote them, and was the leading instigator of this literature? The idea seems preposterous! We ought to gratefully collect all we can from Mr. Wigston and others to show how Bacon used the Eleusinian mysteries and the great idea of life and death to exemplify his Art. I can only "ring a bell to call other wits together" to dive into these plays and the other literature of the time, to try to find their hidden meanings.

These deep philosophic treatises place this literature beyond the group theory and puts the Earl of Oxford out of court, as his life had nothing in common with the wonderful intellect that could devise first the spell of secrecy and wisdom enfolded in these outward works, and then wait patiently for those minds in years to come to pierce the veil and allow him to "pace forth" as their author.

"Pandosto or the Triumph of Time" was his work as Robert Greene, from which came the "*Winter's Tale.*" Spenser writes of the Ruins of Time likewise.

Mr. Wigston also says: "Anything is possible of such a god-like intellect, whose whole faculties are bent upon '*Posterity*' and 'after ages', who lives in thought with the nineteenth and twentieth century discoverers he is not satisfied with Europe or the old world. He must have a New Atlantis or America. He won't allow the centuries to outstrip him. For he is their master and we are yet far behind him . . . ." These are wonderful words of Mr. Wigston, for only now are intellects beginning to appreciate Bacon. How are we to free our Ariel cleft in the Stratford Monument and let Bacon's beautiful Spirit free? Have the 300 years of the Treble-dated Crow of his "Phoenix and Turtle" passed? What are we waiting for? Why has the secret of the real author of these works been so long delayed by those who know?

THE BACON PEDIGREE.

(By Mrs. Foggitt née Gertrude Bacon).

THE origin of the name Bacon is variously given by authorities who differ widely in their conclusions. The most picturesque derivation is old Vestegan's —"Bacon of the Beechen tree, anciently called Bucon; and whereas swine's flesh is so called by the name of Bacon, it grew only at the first into such as were fatted with Bucon or beech mast." Camden and other bygone antiquarians enlarge on this, pointing out that 'Buckingham' and 'Bucknam' in Norfolk are named from this same beechmast; while the Lords of Baconthorp, a village near Holt in Norfolk, who took the name of Bacon early in the 12th century, bore as their arms "Argent, a beech tree proper."

These Lords of Baconthorp were descended from one Grimbaldus, a Norman of the time of William the Conqueror, whose kinsman indeed he was, since he and the Dukes of Normandy had a common ancestor in the Viking jarl Rognwald (or Raungwalder, Earl of Moeri in the Orcades) father of the mighty Rollo, otherwise "Rolf the Ganger," so called because no horse could be found capable of bearing his great limbs, "so that he had perforce to walk." King William granted Grimbaldus land at Letheringsett in Norfolk and from him, some dozen generations later, was directly descended Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal to Queen Elizabeth, who, by his first marriage was the founder of the Bacons of Redgrave and Mildenhall, Premier Baronets of England, and, by his second wife, the father of the illustrious Francis, Lord Verulam.

So far Debrett and the earlier genealogists, but there is another theory. "Bacon is not of the pig, piggy," says Baring Gould in his "Family Names and their Story," but comes from Bascoin, the family name of the Seigneurs of Molai" (near Bayeux). The author of "The Norman People," says "We find the name Bacon or Bacco in the 11th Century in Maine, the family was Northman."

William Bacon, Lord of Morlai, who in 1082 founded Holy Trinity, Caen, was one of the Conqueror's own band who fought at Hastings and is mentioned as the Sire de Molei, or Vieux Molay, in the "Roman de Rou"—one of the knights who challenged Harold to come forth and said to the English "Stay, stay, where is your King?—he that perjureth himself to William? He is a dead man if we find him," as this old story has it. In 1154 Roger Bacon, who is mentioned as of Vieux Molay, held estates in Wilts. "It seems all but self evident" says "The Battle Abbey Roll" that these Norman Lords of Molai who came over at the Conquest, must have been the ancestors of the English family that has made their name illustrious. Few among our ancient houses can count up such a succession of eminent men, "no single cord but a twisted cable" as Fuller describes them. . ."But the obvious deriva-"tion from the Sires de Molai does not commend itself to "the family. . Why, pertinently asks M. de Prevost, do "the English Bacons choose to deduce their origin from "Grimbald in preference to the well known Bacons of "Molai?"

The query may be hard to answer, but the substance of the whole matter is clear. Whichever way they came into England, and it may be well have been both ways and other ways besides, the Bacons are all one; descended from the Vikings, the gentlemanly pirates who swooped down in successive swarms from Danish and Norwegian shores on Normandy and East Anglia alike. There are Bacons in Normandy to-day, as there have been for near a thousand years, near Caen where the graveyards are full of them. There is a Bacqueville or Baconsville in Normandy just as there is a Baconthorp in Norfolk, and mayhap the Norman Bacons who came over with the Conqueror found Bacon cousins already settled in England. In any case there is the strongest probability that Grimbaldus and the Sires de Morlai were of common stock. "Remember," says Kipling, "that the Norman barons were only five or "six generations removed from the fierce Danish pirates "who followed Rollo to France." Indubitably the

Bacons were from the north and must bear a Norse name. In this connection it should be mentioned that "Bak" is old Danish for a pig.

And once in England this virile race spread mightily, chiefly in a south-westerly direction, until before many generations right down to Wales they were thick in the land. Towards the end of the 16th century we find a particular family of them settled in western Somerset. There is well attested proof that the founder of this branch was a scion of the old East Anglian stock, one of the Bacons of Hesset, of collateral origin with the great Francis with whom the Bacons of this record thus claim kinship. We find the crest of the Hesset Bacons, varied only slightly, granted to William Bacon of Otterhampton, Somerset, at the Heralds Visitation of 1593. On the face of things it might appear more likely that this Somerset Bacon came from the neighbouring county of Wiltshire where Bacons were living whose pedigree, it is said, can be traced back to the Conquest (doubtless to the Lords of Morlai before mentioned) by another route; and it would seem confirmatory that his descendants in later years were allowed to bear the Wiltshire Bacon's arms. Nevertheless the connecting link, despite much search, has never been discovered. If subsequent years unearth it and the Somerset Bacons lose their stronghold on the great Lord Verulam which they now profess, they would yet find compensation in their closer grasp of the yet more famous Roger 'Doctor Mirabilis', the Learned Monk of Ilchester, whom the Norfolk Bacons, from the days of Sir Francis onwards, have vainly tried to establish in their pedigree. . The mists of obscurity hang very closely over this greatest of all Bacons, but his name Roger crops up again and again in the family as far back almost as the surname Bacon itself, affording further proof—if such were needed—of the common origin of the entire Bacon clan.

Anyway, whatever their origin, this particular family prospered in Somerset and made wealthy marriages, so that we find them in 1648 in possession of a fair estate, which they held for four generations, Maunsell near North

Petherton. Maunsell House still stands in its beautiful grounds and most picturesque surroundings, and although now altered and enlarged and long passed into other hands, proof of its former occupants still remains in the initials and date "T.B. 1709" on its weather-vane, and in the now only surviving mural tablet bearing the names of many Bacons in the tiny Michael Church nestling beside it. On this tablet may, with some difficulty, still be distinguished the Bacon arms—Field argent, a fesse between three round buckles gules, and crest, a Talbot (dog's) head holding in mouth a stag's foot; and on this fact some family history turns.

For there came a time when the Bacons of Maunsell seemed on the point of extinction. Only childless female descendants apparently were left. The heir was advertised for, so the story runs, but no response was forthcoming, and finally Maunsell was thrown into Chancery and eventually sold.

As a note to the final paragraph of the enclosed article I would like to say that recent researches into Somersetshire Estates have proved that the Maunsell Estate, situate at North Newton, midway between Taunton and Bridgewater, mentioned in this article, was held by the Bacon family from the time of Charles I. to George I, when it was sold to the Slade family by whom it is still owned.

My branch of the family descends from the first wife of John Bacon of Hesset, née Julian Bardwell, while Lord Bacon was descended from his second wife, née Helena Tillott (see *Fly Leaves*)—

JOHN M. BACON.

THE "TREBLE-DATED CROW."

By T. Vaughan Welsh.

"THE Phoenix and the Turtle" first appeared in Chester's "Love's Martyr or Rosalin's Complaint," which was published in 1601. The main poem is long and has been described as tedious. There were other contributors, apparently included to provide some appeal to the public. These were Ben Jonson, Ignoto, John Marston, George Chapman and William Shake-speare (*sic*). The late E. G. Harman, in his book "The Impersonality of Shakespeare," says that "The Phoenix and the Turtle" is very difficult and almost in the language of acrostic, but suggests that it is easily understood in the light of the dialogue between Dame Nature and the Phoenix which forms the main substance of the book, and he proceeds to show that the whole publication refers to the popular view of Elizabeth and Essex and was written before the death of Essex with the exception of Shakespeare's contribution which was written after his death and in which both parties are regarded as dead. He quotes the reference to Elizabeth in Osborne's "Traditional Memories": 'It were no great hyperbole to affirm that the Queene did not only bury Affection but her Power in the Tombe of Essex.' He mentions Daniel's play, "The Tragedy of Philotas," begun in 1600 and produced in 1605, for which the author got into great trouble, as an instance of how dangerous it was to be too explicit about Essex even a few years later. He indicates the main scope of the general theme in the following words:— 'The Phoenix (or Rosalin) is described in terms of royalty and as the only paragon on the earth. She rules over an island kingdom where her mind has been abused by Envy, and where the cruelty of the inhabitants has brought stains on her glory. Living in exile from her is a Turtle, who loves her but has given her offence, but he is the soul of honour and she longs to be reunited to him. This union takes place mystically in the fire, and out of it "another princely Phoenix" arises."

Now the present analysis of "The Phoenix and the Turtle" does not seek to disprove any historical reference. It is only that the Shakespearean personality which is evident even in the obscurity of this poem is not limited by the aptness of such an interpretation. The economy of these writings is such that a single purpose, however patent, is seldom or never served to the exclusion of other preoccupations. Thus the point of view which relates the sombre tone of this poem to the dark and tragic phase of the Works is amply justified. It might well be thought to be its introduction. But a closer examination reveals something which transcends a world left desolate and forlorn, whether with the end of a love-enchanted vision of life that preceded it, or a more material end of worldly hopes. This is rather the language of renunciation than of any acceptance of fate.

Familiarity with this poem is mostly confined to the allusion to "the treble-dated crow," and to the paradox of "married chastity." In the minds of most people it is utterly apart from the rest of Shakespeare. In spite, however, of Sir Sidney Lee's dictum—"Happily Shakespeare wrote nothing else of like character"—a close attention to detail presents striking similarities of thought and expression in the Sonnets.

"The Phoenix and the Turtle" consists of a curious introduction, the Anthem and the Threnos. An Anthem is a song of praise and gladness and must be intended to explain what it is that is honoured with a song of lamentation, or threne, and obsequies so curiously attended. When the symbolism of the introductory portion is examined, its origin is found to be curiously Eastern. This may be an accidental and unimportant conclusion at the present time, but in this instance Classical Mythology is surprisingly unhelpful. In fact, the only fruitful source of information has been Eastern, and particularly, Chinese Myth. There is no reason to suppose that any of it should have been familiar to an Elizabethan author, but its connotation is just and appropriate. In any case, it has repeatedly been shown that symbolism in Shakespeare is

not haphazard or meaningless, and to those convinced of the symbolic nature of the Shakespearean pseudonym it always presents one obvious line of approach which it is not wise to ignore.

Apart from the Phoenix and the Dove of the poem, there is an allusion to another Phoenix in the first verse, to the owl in the second verse, to "'birds of tyrant wing,'" to the eagle, swan and crow. The Phoenix, crow and dove are all birds with legendary qualities of longevity. There are various computations for what is known as the Phoenix period, but three hundred years is generally accepted. The crow that according to popular belief lives a hundred years is here given a treble lease of life, and thus confirms the Phoenix period. Another symbol of longevity is the Arabian tree or date-palm. This, too, in common with the Phoenix is a symbol of rejuvenation. The Phoenix, the crow and the eagle have associations with the sun and sun-worship. The owl is connected with the moon. The eagle could fly into the face of the sun. The crow, and particularly a three-legged crow, was used in China and Japan from time immemorial to adorn their banners. It was then a white or red bird. Later the Japanese adopted it for their national emblem, changing its colours to the familiar black, but retaining the three legs. It was only in the last century that a rising sun was substituted for a device itself intimately connected with sun-worship. The Phoenix is almost certainly derived from the Quetzal, which is not a fabulous creature, but a reality, and still to be found in remote mountain regions of Mexico and South America. It was the sacred sun-bird of the Toltecs and was considered to be the beloved attendant of Quetzalcoatl, their benevolent Sun-God.

It was and still is a common belief that such a thing as a dead crow is never to be seen. A crow was said to be able to change its sex at will by breathing, and here the feminine sex is expressed in 'sable gender.' The heart of a crow was part of a sorcerer's equipment to imbue himself with a spirit of prophecy. The swan was also credited with powers of prophecy and enchantment, and of transforma-

tion: it sang the sweetest of melodies in old age, or only at its death. Even the ill-omened owl was considered to be gifted with unusual wisdom, and because of its powers of seeing in the dark was associated with prophetic vision.

The dove was a model of connubial affection and of constancy. It was the telephone and telegraph of the ancient world, and this may explain the reference to 'birds of tyrant wing,' for the dove used to have attached to its tail a whistle which shrilled in the wind of its passage to terrify marauding hawks and falcons.

The Phoenix is here spoken of as a queen. In China it had a feminine significance, was worn as a decoration by brides, and, in contradistinction to the Dragon, symbolised the feminine element of their duality system known as Yang-Yin.

All this and much else of profound interest may be found in "The Decorative Motives of Oriental Art," by Katherine M. Ball. This is a delightful volume, replete with erudition and artistic insight. The description of the Phoenix from Chinese mystical writers, which follows, is also taken from her pages. And, lest it should be thought that the connection between Shakespeare and Far-Eastern symbolism is too vague, it is interesting, at the least, to observe that the Unicorn familiar to those who have access to original editions was one of four fabulous animals anciently considered to control the destinies of Empire, and its special province was Literature.*

"There is a wondrous bird called the Phoenix. Its body has five colours and its mind is composed of five virtues. It possesses six resemblances and nine qualities. Its head is like the heaven; its eyes like the sun; its back like the crescent moon; its wings like the wind; its tail like the trees and plants, and its feet like the earth. . . Its colour delights the eyes; its comb expresses righteousness; its tongue utters sincerity; its voice chants melody;

*If the punning connection between Tortoise and Turtle be considered possible, it is interesting that the Tortoise was another of the fabulous animals, and presided over Divination. The other two were the Dragon and the Phoenix, presiding over Authority and Virtue, respectively.

its ears enjoy music; its heart conforms to regulations, its breast contains the treasures of literature, and its spurs are powerful against the transgressor. . . . When it sings, its voice chants five musical notes corresponding to its five virtues. Those low in the scale are loud and full like the sonorous detonations of a drum, but those high in the scale are soft and mellow like the tenderest cadences of a bell. *When on the wing millions of the feathery hosts swarm about it, following in its wake until the earth becomes darkened as during an eclipse. At its death, all winged creatures mourn and cease from song while a hundred birds peck the earth and bury it.* . . . It represents that cardinal relationship between a sovereign and his subjects. It appears when conditions are propitious for the advent of a great sage or philosopher, a man of incomparable understanding, penetration and benevolence. The appearance of a pair of these birds denoted that a sage was on the throne, and prosperity prevailed in the country where he reigned."

The two sentences given here in italics fit curiously to the poem. Even if this connection is considered arbitrary, it is not easy to discover any significant reason for the choice of birds as mourners apart from the allegorical fitness, or a possible series of political portraits in keeping with the suggested historical and political interpretation mentioned above. If some mystical intention may be assumed here, it should be substantiated in what follows. Nor need it be urged that it is only begging the question to pursue this course. Bergson has said that the great artist shares the mystic's vision of the "divine dark which is an inaccessible light," he has won the confidence of reality by long comradeship with its external manifestations and by those sensuous images has attained a sacramental communion with Truth. Mystical apprehension is notoriously vague, its values incommunicable in terms that the ordinary practical man can appreciate, and "human intelligence ever tends to discredit all those experiences which its clumsy device of speech refuses to express regardless of the fact that all life's finest moments

are thereby excluded from participation in reality. . . It is an austere and intimate experience which only paradox can express."* Further, an objection to mysticism as a too simple and vague approach which is frequently expressed by conscientious and erudite critics might well be upheld if this poem were the only example of possibly mystical expression in Shakespeare. Apart from the fact that the Sonnets are replete with evident examples of incomprehensible, paradoxical writing which have remained incomprehensible in spite of the ingenious attempts of numerous critics, a curious similarity may be observed between the Anthem and Threnos, and the great majority of the Sonnets. It is only necessary to let the mind become aware of an undoubted relationship between two sets of meaningless words. There are a number of striking instances, but even these are too numerous to quote.

Without entering upon any close consideration of the well-known characteristics of mystical expression, it is sufficient to observe that its poetic form will be found freely distributed in the Sonnets, whereas this poem, "The Phoenix and the Turtle" is rather a statement that the author had actually attained that consciousness of universal Unity, which is the final achievement of the great mystics in all ages and in all lands. This is particularly noteworthy in view of the definite Duality of the rest of the works. But if the Anthem is taken by itself, leaving out the last two verses, it is seen to be a statement of mystic Unity. "These two things, the spiritual and material, though we call them by different names, are one and the same in their origin. This sameness is a mystery, the mystery of mysteries. It is the gate of all that is subtle and wonderful." These are the words of the great Chinese mystic, Lao Tsû. But the gate to all that is subtle and wonderful is also the tomb of merely sensuous apperception, it is the end of poetic utterance, the resolution of harmony and strife, "Phoenix and the Turtle fled in a mutual flame from thence." Jelalu d'Din says:— "Pilgrimage to the place of the wise is to find escape from

*"Bergson and the Mystics," by Evelyn Uunderhill.

the flame of separation." There is nothing in these verses of yearning and striving, of being on the fringes of vision. And just as simply, the last two verses are a statement of renunciation, upon which the mournful finality of the Threnos follows with undeviating certitude.

If the extraordinary felicity of the mystical vision is to be credited, then its renunciation in the face of what remained to be done in the rest of the Works according to a conception of achievement on a plane, by contrast, of ponderous materialism, was infinite grief and loss and anguish of spirit. "Myself I'll forfeit, so that other mine thou wilt restore." This was the genius which took upon itself to inform a new age when the structure of European Civilisation that had hitherto been based absolutely in institutions evolved with the aid of an outworn philosophy, was assailed by the sudden growth of individualism. The author of these works was an artist, philosopher and a practical man, as well as a mystic. He speaks of himself in the Sonnets as a three-fold personality—"fair, kind, and true, affording wondrous scope." In fact, the Sonnets are a deep personal comment upon the variety of experience, and the variety of his problems. In parts, there is allusion to the end of a highly-cherished phase of thought, in parts there is something of the attainment of this phase, of its thrill and ecstasy: in many instances there is deliberate discussion of the dilemma, one way was loss, the other posterity's "benefit of ill." There is no posterity for mysticism, it is always a fresh and personal revelation. Perhaps this is the "tenth Muse," and the "slight Muse" that which has remained to "please these curious days," all the rest, in fact, which has so significantly been found to fill up the Fourth Part of Bacon's Great Instauration, contemplated, but apparently never even begun by him. A vivid survey of the forces at work in the Elizabethan Age is to be found in Professor Whitehead's latest book, "Adventures of Ideas." "Up to this time religion had been the driving force of philosophy. . . . Harmony crept in under the guise of the joy of the adventure, of faculties stretched to the full, but it was merely Romance

gilding Strife. . . . There was a sudden uprush of new rights, of private judgment, private property, competition of private traders, private amusement: mere physical nature was letting loose a flood of revolt against co-ordination, but it required intelligence to provide a system of irrigation. . . . Strife is at least as real a fact in the world as Harmony. If you side with Francis Bacon and concentrate on the efficient causes, you can interpret large features of the growth of structure in terms of 'strife.' If, with Plato, you fix attention on the end, rationally worthy, you can interpret large features in terms of 'harmony.' But until some outline of understanding has been reached which elucidates the interfusion of strife and harmony, the intellectual driving force of successive generations will sway uneasily between the two."

It is safe to assume that the guiding intelligence of the age was aware of this interfusion of strife and harmony, and that there emerged for him a personal vision of essential Unity beneath the outward semblances of all structure. But his function was to re-state problems and present solutions in the light of an older wisdom no longer thrall to tyranny of one sort or another, but re-oriented and made available for the individual aware of his rights yet too ignorant to use his possession to the full. All, or nearly all of this is to be seen in the Plays. In them is re-statement of fact, fresh enquiry based on old models, and, in general, an amazing sense of a new world coming into being. Humanity is re-created in a fresh environment.

Finally, if there is in "The Phoenix and the Turtle" a hint of prophecy, it is to foretell the duration of the age then beginning. A period of three hundred years brings us to our own day. In nearly every sphere of present-day existence there is a curious prevalence of uncertainty. In the beginning of the new age of those times, religion was taking on fresh raiment, at the present time it is anxiously awaiting a vital rehabilitation; then, science was first freed from its swaddling-clothes, now it has achieved such victories and made such discoveries in the material world hat it knows that it knows nothing. But this sense of

prophecy has a particular pointer with reference to the material it made use of. Beauty and truth were then finally welded to expression, in such sort that there could never again be an example more complete. This literature has retained its claim to pre-eminence. It was utilitarian, it was the introduction to the lasting material always chosen in every age by one supreme creative artist, his medium to influence the destinies of those that follow him, as the Greeks chose marble, as the Cathedrals of Europe bear witness to the genius of those who built them, as the Elizabethans infolded in the printed word everything they best knew and believed and re-vitalised the ancient literature of the Greeks and Romans; and now, we, in our turn, are wondering what will be the lasting material wherein will be enshrined the legacy we offer to posterity. Verbal expression has no longer a universal significance. Journalism has changed all that, whether we will or no. Beauty and Truth dwell more simply in industrial machines and Atlantic liners and aeroplanes. Certainly words are no longer sufficient to describe even a minor portion of the activities of men at this time, and rarely indeed are able to grace what they encompass. The mental climate of our time is one of curious abstractions mirrored adequately only in mathematical philosophy, and its language, its symbolism if you will, is not a common possession. There is a steady undermining of values cherished and unchanged through many generations, and not least among the efficient causes of our time is the fact that the spoken word can be photographed and distributed universally and tends to supersede, as once it preceded, the printed page.

Shakespeare is a startling example of the unwisdom of interpreting anything at all in terms of 'nothing but.' So this commentary on "The Phoenix and the Turtle" suggests that among many immediate preoccupations which are clearly apparent in these writings, there are three, if not four, aspects of this personality variously mirrored upon their majestic surface. The experience of even the greatest among mankind is limited, but from

those who have once attained that desireless and changeless state which is the essence of mystical experience nothing is hidden. History records many instances of men and women who have attained this felicity. But, though it is expressly stated in many systems that it is open to these wise ones to return and exercise their wisdom for the benefit of their fellow-men, the recorded number of those who have chosen this sacrifice is few indeed. It is certainly no more extravagant to think of Shakespeare in this light, than to cherish an idea of him based upon "the man of Stratford."

"BEN JONSON AND THE FIRST FOLIO."

The object of this book, by Mr. Lansdown Goldsworthy, is to interpret that obviously metaphysical play of Ben Jonson's entitled "*A Staple of News.*" It is particularly interesting at the present time, in view of the claims that are being so assiduously advanced in favour of Lord Oxford as the possible author of "Shakespeare," for as Mr. Goldsworthy shows, the main object of *The Staple of News*—which was enacted within a year or two of the publication of the first folio edition of "Shakespeare"—was to denounce any pretension to the authorship thereof which Lord Oxford might, by some people, be supposed to have had.

One of the characters enquires "What brave fellows do eat together in town to-day and where?" and the reply is "There's a gentleman, the brave heir (heir to the throne, that is meaning Prince Charles) dines in Apollo. The significance of the name of the restaurant will be appreciated. "Come, let's hither then," says his friend. Another remarks "If he dine there he's sure to have good meat, for it is the master cook provides the dinner, and . . . he holds that no man can be a poet that is not a good cook, to know the palates and several tastes of the time. He draws all arts out of the kitchen. . the art of poetry he concludes the same as cookery." Now, here's the point: after the dinner one of the characters is made to affirm that the perfect and true strain of poetry is rather to be given to the cellar than to the kitchen. This remark is interjected only for the purpose of enabling it to be contradicted. The reference to the cellar points clearly to Lord Oxford who by right of his hereditary office of Lord High Chamberlain was the possessor of the well-known bottle badge which until his death was to be seen displayed upon the livery buttons of the Earl's "few foggy retainers."

Now hear what the Master Cook and Master-poet (for the terms are interchangeable) is made by honest Ben to reply to this suggestion. He says:—

Heretic, I see
Thou art for the vain Oracle of the Bottle.
The hogshead, Trismegistus is thy Pegasus.
Thence flows thy muse's spring, from that hard hoof.
. . I do say to thee
A boiler, range and dresser were the fountains
Of all the knowledge in the universe.
And they're the kitchens, where the master-cook—

Thou dost not know the man, nor can'st thou know him,
Till thou hast served some years in that deep school,
That's both the nurse and mother of the arts,
And hear'st him read, interpret and demonstrate—
A master-cook! why he's the man of men.
For a professor! he designs, he draws,
He paints, he carves, he builds, he fortifies.
Makes citadels of curious fowl and fish. . .
He raiseth ramparts of immortal crust;
And teacheth all the tactics, at one dinner. . .
Then he knows

The influence of the stars upon his meats,
And all their seasons, tempers, qualities;
And so to fit his relishes and sauces.
He has nature in a pot' above all the chymists,
Or airy brethren of the Rosie-cross,
He is an architect, an engineer,
A soldier, a physician, a philosopher,
A general mathematician."

He who had the temerity to suggest that the true strain of poetry was born in the cellar collapses saying "it is granted," while the others signify assent.

Here then have we not contemporary evidence of the most authentic kind that smashes to atoms the pretensions of Lord Oxford's champions?

X.

MENTE VIDEBOR.

By Mabel Sennett.

"Those who have true skill in the Works of the Lord *Verulam*, like great Masters in Painting, can tell by the *Design*, the *Strength*, the *way of Colouring*, whether he was the Author of this or the other Piece, though his Name be not to it."—*Archbishop Tenison*, 1679.

In the new Psychological Quarterly, *Character and Personality*, there is an article entitled "An Art Expert's Observations on Personality," by Max. J. Friedländer, Curator of the State Galleries, Berlin.

Discussing how an art expert decides whether two works of art are by the same master, he writes: ". . . . we compare him to a tree, none of whose leaves are identical while all of them have a shape which allows them to be recognized as belonging to one kind of tree; but even this comparison does not do justice to the capacity for change in a man of intellectual activity and to the complexity of his mental processes. Personality lives and changes, and its disposition is such that, while it is free to pursue one path, it can follow another in different circumstances. . . . When the art expert is asked which of two works is by the same master we find that he does not point to any profound qualities, but to apparently external characteristics, to flourishes and habits, which form so many secret and unintentional signatures. . . . Though the expert may sense the working of personality, he turns towards the surface as soon as he wants to demonstrate."

The above is applied by the author to judgment of painting and sculpture, since "books and music," he says, "generally betray their author in no uncertain fashion."

A REFLECTION OF BACON'S FALL.

There are some lines in *The Bashful Lover* by Massinger, played by the King's Company on 9 May, 1636, which are strangely reminiscent of Francis Bacon's Fall. Little is known of Massinger, except that he was the son of Arthur Massinger, and born about 1584. The father appears to have been a confidential retainer to the family of the Earl of Pembroke, as stated in the Dedication to *The Bondman*, another of Massinger's plays. He died in 1640, and was buried in St. Saviour's Churchyard. Some comedians were his mourners, but no stone or monument marks his burial. In the parish register appears—"Mar. 20, 1639-40, buried Philip Massinger—a stranger." His life, like his works, are obscure.

The quotation to which attention is called is from *Act.* 3, *Sc.* 1, and is peculiarly Baconian, both in matter and style. Octavio speaks:

Oct.: 'Tis true by proof I find it, human reason
Views with such dim eyes what is good or ill,
That if the great Disposer of our being
Should offer to our choice all worldly blessings,
We know not what to take. When I was young,
Ambition of court-preferment fired me:
And as there were no happiness beyond it,
I labour'd for't, and got it; no man stood
In greater favour with his prince; I had
Honours and offices, wealth flow'd in to me,
And, for my service both in peace and war,
The general voice gave out I did deserve them.
But, O vain confidence in subordinate greatness!
When I was most secure it was not in
The power of fortune to remove me from
The flat I firmly stood on, in a moment
My virtues were made crimes, and popular favour
(To new-raised men still fatal) bred suspicion
That I was dangerous: which no sooner enter'd
Gonzaga's breast, but straight my ruin follow'd;
My offices were ta'en from me, my state seized on:
And, had I not prevented it by flight,
The jealousy of the duke had been removed
With the forfeiture of my head."

It only requires to substitute *Jacobus* for *Gonzaga*—each of whose numerical equivalents totals 67—to complete the picture. That the duke (Buckingham) was secretly jealous of Bacon's power and influence is known, and Bacon's fear for his life after his fall was remarked on by Molloy in 1670, which probably explains why he "died" so suddenly in 1626.

VERAX.

INTERROGATORIES OF FRANCIS BACON.

IV.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

On *Tuesday* the 24th of *April*, the Prince His Highness signified unto their Lordships, that the said Lord Chancellor had sent a submission unto their Lordships, which was presently read *in haec Verba*. "*May it please your Lordships*,

"I shall humbly crave at your Lordships hands a benign Interpretation of that, which I shall now write; for Words, that come "from wasted Spirits, and an oppressed Mind, are more safe in "being deposited in a noble Construction, than in being circled "with any reserved Caution.

"This being moved, and as I hope obtained in the Nature of a "Protection for all that I shall say, I shall now make into the rest "of that, wherewith I shall at this time trouble your Lordships, a "very strange entrance: for in the midst of a state of as great "Affliction as I think a mortal Man can endure, (Honour "being above Life) I shall begin with the professing of Gladness in "some things.

"The first is, that hereafter the Greatness of a Judge or Magistrate shall be no Sanctuary or Protection of Guiltiness, which (in "few words) is the beginning of a Golden World.

"The next is, that after this Example, it is like that Judges will "fly from any thing that is in the likeness of Corruption (tho' it "were at a great distance) as from a serpent; which tendeth to the "purging of the Courts of Justice, and the reducing them to their "true Honour and Splendor. And in these two Points, God is my "Witness, that, tho' it be my Fortune to be the Anvil whereupon "these good Effects are beaten and wrought, I take no small Comfort.

"But to pass from the Motions of my Heart, whereof God is "only Judge, to the merits of my Cause, whereof your Lordships are "Judges under God, and his Lieutenant: I do understand there "hath been heretofore expected from me some Justification, and "therefore I have chosen one only Justification instead of all other, "one of the Justifications of *Job*: for after the clear Submission and "Confession, which I shall now make unto your Lordships, I hope "I may say and justify with *Job* in these words, *I have not hid my "Sin, as did* Adam, *nor concealed my Faults in my Bosom*; *this is "*the only Justification, which I will use*: if therefore, that without "Fig-Leaves I do ingenuously confess and acknowledge, that having "understood the particulars of the Charge, not formally from "the House, but enough to inform my Conscience and Memory, I "find matter sufficient and full both to move me to desert the "Defence, and to move your Lordships to condemn and censure me.

"Neither will I trouble your Lordships by singling those Particulars, which I think may easiest be answer'd, *Quid te exempta "juvat spinis de pluribus una*? neither will I prompt you to ob-

* Job, C. 31, V. 33.

"serve upon the Proofs where they come not home, or the Scruples "touching the Credit of the Witnesses: neither will I represent to "your Lordships how far a Defence might in divers things extenuate "the Offence in respect of the time or the manner of the Gift, or the "like Circumstances; but only leave those things to spring out of "your own noble Thoughts and Observations of the Evidence and "Examinations themselves, and charitably to wind about the "particulars of the Charge here and there, as God shall put you "in mind, and so submit myself wholly to your Pity and Grace.

"And now that I have spoken to your Lordships as Judges, I "shall say a few words to you as Peers and Prelates, humbly com- "mending my Cause to your noble Minds and magnanimous Affec- "tions.

"Your Lordships are no simple Judges, but parliamentary "Judges, you have a farther extent of Arbitrary Power than other "Judges; and if your Lordships be not tied by the ordinary Course "of Courts or Precedents in Points of Strictness and Severity, "much less are you in Points of Mercy and Mitigation.

"And yet if any thing which I shall move, might be contrary to "your honourable and worthy End to introduce a Reformation, I "should not seek it; but herein I beseech you give me leave to "tell your Lordships a story. *Titus Manlius* took his Son's Life "for giving Battle against the Prohibition of his General: not many "Years after the like severity was pursued by *Papirius Cursor* the "Dictator against *Quintus Maximus*, who, being upon the Point "to be sentenc'd by the Intercession of some principal Persons of "the Senate, was spared; whereupon *Livy* makes this grave and "gracious Observation, *Neque minus firmata est Disciplina militaris "periculo Quinti Maxima, quam miserabili supplicio Titu Manlii. "The Discipline of War was no less established by the questioning of "Quintus Maximus, than by the punishing of Titus Manlius.* And "the same Reason is of the Reformation of Justice; for the ques- "tioning Men of eminent Place hath the same Terror, tho' not "the same Rigour, with the Punishment.

"But my Case stayeth not there; for my humble desire is, that "his Majesty would take the Seal into his Hands, which is a great "downfall, and may serve I hope in itself for an expiation of my "Faults.

"Therefore if Mercy and Mitigation be in your Powers, and do "no way cross your noble Ends, why should I not hope of your "Lordship's Favours and Commiseration? Your Lordships will "be pleased to behold your chief Pattern, the King our Sovereign, "of most incomparable Clemency, and whose Heart is inscrutable "for Wisdom and Goodness. Your Lordships will remember "that there sat not these 200 years before a Prince in your House "and never such a Prince, whose Presence deserves to be made mem- "orable by Records and Acts mixt of Mercy and Justice. Your- "selves, either Nobles (and Compassion ever beats in the Veins of "noble Blood) or reverend Prelates, who are the Servants of him "that would not break the bruised Reed, nor quench the smoking "Flax; you all sit upon an high Stage, and therefore cannot but be "more sensible of the Changes of the World, and of the Fall of any "of High place.

"Neither will your Lordships forget, that there are *vitia temporis* "as well as *vitia hominis*; and that the beginning of Reformations "hath the contrary Power of the *Pool of Bethesda*, for that had "strength to cure only him, that is first cast in, and this hath "strength to hurt him only, that is first cast in: And for my part I "wish it may stay there and go no further.

"*Lastly*, I assure myself your Lordships have a noble feeling of "me as a Member of your own Body; and one thing there was, that "in this very Session had some taste of your loving Affections, "which I hope was not a Lightning before Death, but rather a "Spark of that Grace, which now in conclusion will more appear.

"And therefore my humble Suit unto your Lordships is, that my "penitent Submission may be my Sentence, and the Loss of the "Seal my punishment, and that your Lordships will spare my "further Sentence: But recommend me to his Majesty's Grace and "Pardon for all that is past. God's Holy Spirit be among you.

Your Lordships humble Servant,
and Supplicant,

"*April* 22, 1621. FRAN. ST. ALBANS, *Canc.*

The Lords having consider'd of this Submission, and heard the Collections of Corruptions charged upon the said Lord Chancellor, and the Proofs thereof read, they sent a Copy of the same without the Proofs unto the Lord Chancellor by Mr. Baron *Denham* and Mr.* Attorney-General, with this Message from their Lordships, *viz.*, That the Lord Chancellor's Confession is not fully set down by his Lordship in the said Submission, for three Causes.

1. *First*, His Lordship confesseth not any particular Bribe or Corruption.

2. Nor sheweth how his Lordship heard the Charge thereof.

3. The Confession, such as it is, is afterwards extenuated in the same Submission. And therefore the Lords have sent him a Particular of the Charge, and do expect his Answer to the same with all convenient Expedition.

Unto which Message the Lord Chancellor answered, that he would return the Lords an Answer with speed.

And on the 25th of *April* the Lords considered of the Lord Chancellor's said Answer sent unto their Message yesterday, and sent a second Message unto his Lordship to this effect by the said Mr. Baron *Denham*, and Mr. Attorney-General, viz. The Lords having received a doubtful Answer unto the Message their Lordships sent him yesterday, therefore they now send to him again to know of his Lordship directly, and presently, whether his Lordship will make his Confession, or stand upon his Defence.

Answer returned by the said Messengers, *viz.*, The Lord Chancellor will make no manner of Defence to the Charge, but meaneth to acknowledge Corruption, and to make a particular Confession to every Point, and after that an humble Submission; but humbly craves Liberty, that where the Charge is more full than he finds the Truth of the Fact, he may make Declaration of the Truth in such Particulars, the Change being brief and containing not all Circumstances.

---

* Sir Thomas Coventry.

(*To be concluded*).

FRANCIS BACON AND THE MONEY-LENDERS.

By C. L'ESTRANGE EWEN.

Sir Nicholas Bacon, Kt., of Gorhambury, Herts., Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, died in 1580, being survived by Anne, his second wife, and sons Nicholas, Nathaniel, Edward, Anthony and Francis, the first three named being by his first wife. The only *'inquisitio post mortem* now extant relates solely to the Suffolk lands held in chief[1], and the will dated 23rd Dec., 1578, provides very little information bearing upon the financial standing and difficulties of Anthony and Francis Bacon, the subject of the present enquiry. The Lord Keeper left one-half of the household stuff at Gorhambury to Anthony when twenty-four years of age, failing whom to Francis; the other half also to Anthony upon the death of Lady Anne. To his wife he gave all interest in York House, desiring her to see to the well bringing up of his two sons, Anthony and Francis, "nowe left poore orphans without a father." Brittlefirth woods, St. Stephens, Herts., and lands in the parish of Harrow, Midx.,[2] were left to Anthony, failing whom, Francis. Evidently the Suffolk estates went to his first family, and the Hertfordshire properties to his widow and her children.[3] Gorhambury is not mentioned and clearly had been already settled, since a Crown docquet, dated 31 Jan. 1607/8 records that Sir Nicholas entailed "certain lands in Herts." on his sons, Anthony and Francis, with remainder to himself and his heirs.[4]

In 1580 Anthony Bacon was 22 years of age, but Francis did not attain his majority until 1582, when he found himself with few acres and small income, quite insufficient for carrying out his ambitious schemes for the improvement of learning. At first sight, a letter from Francis to his uncle, Lord Treasurer Burghley, 18 Oct. 1580, points to the occupation, at the early age of nineteen, of some remunerative office under Queen Elizabeth:[5]

> "And now seeing it hath pleased her Majesty. . .to vouchsafe to appropriate me unto her service preventing any desert of mine with her princely liberality, I am moved humbly to beseech your lordship to present to her Majesty my more than most humble thanks therefore . . . ."[6]

Dr. Rawley, the chaplain and biographer of Francis Bacon, suggests that such a display of gratitude was rather like the modern "thanking you in anticipation," for he records that "though she cheered him much with the bounty of her countenance, yet she never cheered him with the bounty of her hand."[7] Actually the Queen conferred several handsome favours. The first traceable

---

142,(1) C 191, 90.

(2) In 1591 this property became the subject of a bill of complaint in Chancery: Bacon and Fleetwood *v* Burbage. C3, 222, 48.

(3) A transcript of the will has been given in BACONIANA, 3 Ser., xiii, 181-4.

(4) S.P. 38, 9.

(5) Many years later, writing to the Earl of Essex, he refers to having been devoted to her Majesty's service from the time he went on his travels. (Spedding, viii, 351).

(6) Sped., viii, 14. (7) *Resuscitatio*, 1657.

recognition was the grant of the reversion of the clerkship of the Star Chamber, on 29 Oct. 1589,[8] a somewhat empty honour according to Bacon, who likened it to "another man's ground buttalling upon his house: which might mend his prospect, but did not fill his barn."[9]. Nevertheless in later years, he valued the gift at 1,200 *l*. and ultimately it yielded 2,000 *l*. yearly.

Francis Bacon certainly possessed some marsh lands in Kent and Essex and held them under the Crown, for on 3 Apr. 1583 he paid 15 *l*. for licence to alienate 130 ac. and free fishery in Wolwiche, Kent, and Estham, Ess. to Bartholomew Kemp, armiger, and William Downynge, gent., to hold to his own use and behoof,[10] and on 6 June following he obtained the like licence in respect of 7 ac. marsh and fishing ground in East and West Ham, Ess. and Woolwich, Kent, to be alienated to Richard Stonley, armiger[11]. Possibly this step was the preliminary to a mortgage.

By indenture dated 1 Jan. 26 Eliz. [1583/4] Lady Anne Bacon, widow, "for the natural love and affection" she bore towards Francis, her son, etc., granted and surrendered to him the manor of Markes (near Romford), Essex; the manor called the Redde Lyon in Romeforde; and messuages in Hornechurche, Dagnam, Romeford and Haveringe at Bower; with the proviso that at any time upon payment of ten shillings by her to Francis the grant should be void.[12] On 26 Oct. 26 Eliz. [1584] Lady Anne and Francis Bacon jointly leased the manor to George Harvey.[13].

Anthony Bacon, who was resident abroad for about twelve years incurred great expense in the public service,[13A] on one occasion in 1584-5 sending home for 500 *l*.[14] The demands of Anthony, and in a lesser degree Francis, severely taxed the resources and temper of Lady Bacon. According to a letter of Francis Allen (17 Aug. 1589) Lady Anne said that Anthony would be but a hundred pounds better off at her death, and that "her jewels be spent for him, and that she borrowed the last money of seven several persons."[15] On 17 Apr. 1593 she wrote to Anthony—"I have been too ready for you both till nothing is left."[16] A letter of Francis (4 Oct. 1593) shows that his mother had bestowed upon him "Mr. Boldroe's debt" out of which he was to repay 100 *l*.[17] To Edward Spencer, Lady Anne said of Anthony, July 1594, "he shall have none of me, he have undone me, and nobody else but he."[18]

Francis Bacon ultimately found himself driven to money-lenders, and borrowing 357*l*. 10*s*., principal and interest, from Thomas Offley, of London, citizen and leather-seller, on 14 Jan. 1589/90 in Chancery bound himself in the penal sum of 500 *l*. to repay the loan by 16 Dec. 1590. The obligation being duly met, on 12 Mar. 1590/91 Thomas Offley signed a formal discharge.[19] Possibly the necessity of satisfying Offley led Francis Bacon on 16 Nov. 1590 to borrow 200 *l*. from Gabriel Jeninges of Collye Rowe in the parish of Dagnam, gent., giving a bond in 400 *l*. to

(8) Cott. MS., Tit. C. x., 93; C66, 1347. (9) *Resuscitatio*, 1657.
(10) C66, 1232, m.11. (11) C66, 1224, m.43.
(12) Enrolled in Chancery, 18 Feb., 38 Eliz. C54, 1518; Full transcript by H. Hardy, BACONIANA, 3 Ser., xiii. 191.
(13) C54, 1453. (13A) Bacon *v.* Allen, C3, 258-52.
(14) Sped., x 7, (15) Lamb. MS. 647, 111; Sped. viii, 110-1,
(16) Lamb. MS. 653, 175; Sped., viii, 244.
(17) Sped., viii, 264. (18) Sped., viii, 311. (19) C54, 1368.

secure payment by 25 Mar. 1592. This debt was also duly settled.[20] Further help was obtained from John Spencer, as appears by letter dated 19 Sept. 1593.[21]

The Act of 37 Hen. VIII, c. 9, against usury, repealed by Edward VI, had been revived by 13 Eliz., c.8 (afterwards made perpetual by 39 Eliz., c.18), and consequently at this time the maximum interest chargeable on loans was ten per cent yearly. There is some indication that the Bacons paid a lower rate of 5 to 7 per cent, but the statute did not extend to any "lawful obligation endorsed with a condition," consequently the loans were for short periods and secured by bonds, the penal sums being great.

On 2 Mar. 1589/90 Francis Bacon obtained the royal licence to alienate 108 ac. of marsh in Woolwich, held in capite, to George Wylmer, gent.[22]

In 1592 Anthony Bacon had under consideration raising money on his Barley estate of 2,611 acres, and on 1 Apr. licence was granted to Anthony and Francis to alienate the manors of Abbottes Burie alias Rowlettes Burie, Mynchynburye, and Hores in Barley and Barkway, Herts.,[23] Great and Little Chishell, Essex, and Harston and Hawston in Cambs., to Thomas Posthumius Hobbie, armiger, and Edward Selwyne, gent.,[24] and by fine levied on the morrow of Holy Trinity, 34 Eliz., the Bacons acknowledged the said manors to be the right of Hobbie, who gave them 560 *l.*[25]

The conditional nature of Lady Bacon's gift of the manor of Markes did not prevent Francis, on 26 Apr. 1592, mortgaging the property to the lessee, George Harvey, to secure repayment of 1,300 *l.* on 30 Apr. 1593.[26] Evidently Francis Bacon saw no way of raising the money, for on 16 Apr. 1593, his brother, Anthony, wrote reminding his mother of her offer to help Francis out of debt by bestowing "the whole interest in Marks upon him," and expressing the fear that unless it pleased her to do it out of hand he would "be put to a very shrewd plunge, either to forfeit his reversion to Harvie, or else to undersell it very much."[27] Lady Bacon replied with a tirade against the Welsh servants of Francis, whom she distrusted, and asking for a true note of his debts, demanded the settlement and receivership of rents to be placed in her hands. Evidently Francis declined to accede to the request, for matters remained as before. On 26 Apr. 1593 a second mortgage in similar terms to the last was executed, the first being cancelled on 1 May. On due date (1 May 1594) Harvie was repaid 1,300 *l.* and he signed his acknowledgment on the Close Roll on 18 June 1594.[28]

Notwithstanding that Lady Bacon had declared to Anthony (17 Apr. 1593) that she had nothing left, on 10 Nov., 35 Eliz. [1593], for "motherly love and affection," she gave him all her right, namely her life interest, in the manor of Windridge, the manors of Burston and Napesbury and lands in St. Michaels (St. Albans), St. Stevens, Hemsted, St. Michaels, and the rectory of

---

(20) C54, 1368.
(21) W. H. Dixon (*Personal History*, 47). (22) C66, 1357, m.19.
(23) Chauncy records that the manors of Minchingbury, Abbotsbury, and Hores were granted by the Crown to the Rowlets, and from Sir Ralph Rowlet came to Sir Nicholas Bacon.
(24) C66, 1387, m.43.
(25) Trin. 34 Eliz., Double Counties; C.P. 25 (2), Bdle 262.
(26) Enrolled in Chancery, 19 May 1592; C54, 1425.
(27) Sped. viii, 243. (28) C54, 1425.

Redborne, the immediate reversion of which was expectant and belonged to Anthony and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, but reserving the right of re-entry and repossession upon payment of 20s.[29] Although these lands were held in chief, Lady Bacon omitted to obtain a licence to alienate, but on 14 June 1608 she received a pardon on payment of 20*l*.[30] Anthony Bacon had already on 2 Sept. 1593 obtained licence to alienate the above manors and 2,420 ac. of land, etc., to Robert Prentys, his servant.[31]

By fine levied at St. Albans on the quindene of St. Martin, 36 Eliz. [1593], Anthony Bacon, armiger, and Francis Bacon, armiger, acknowledged the manor of Windridge, Burston and Napsbury alias Apsbury, with the appurtenances, and 55 messuages, 24 tofts, 1 water mill, 3 dovehouses, 55 gardens, 1,200 ac. of land, 120 ac. of meadow, 600 ac. of pasture, 300 ac. of wood, 200 ac. of furze and heath, and 22*l*. rents in the parish of St. Michael, St. Stephen, and St. Peter's, next the town of St. Albans, Shenley, Hempsted and Redbourne, and the rectory of Redbourne, etc. to be the right of Robert Prentys, who gave them 600*l*.[32] A common recovery with single voucher was suffered by Anthony Bacon, and on 28 Nov. Prentice had full seisin.[33] The indenture leading to uses has not been seen.

It appears by a letter of Anthony Bacon, dated 28 July 1593 that he had then definitely concluded negotiations for the disposal of his Barley estate,[34] and on 2 Sept. 1593, for the second time, a licence to alienate was purchased.[35] By indenture dated 4 Sept. 35 Eliz. [1593] Anthony Bacon and Robert Prentys of Breiston, Norf., "servant to Anthony," in consideration of 3,380 *l*., sold to John Spencer, citizen and alderman of London, the manors of Abbottes Bury, Mynchynbury and Hores alias Barley, etc.[36] There is no trace of a fine in the Record Office, but three recoveries with treble vouchers were suffered, from which it appears that the property comprised: in Herts., 12 messuages, 20 tofts, 2 mills, 20 gardens, 1,000 ac. of land, 60 ac. of meadow, 500 ac. of pasture, and 300 ac. of wood, 200 ac. of furze and heath, and 60s. rents in Barley and Barkway[37]; in Essex, 2 messuages, 500 ac. of land, and 60s. rents in Great and Little Chissell[38]; and in Cambs., 2 messuages, 30 ac. of land, 15 ac. of meadow, 6 ac. of pasture and 60s. of rents in Harston and Hawston.[39]

By indenture dated 30th Nov., 36 Eliz. [1593] Morrice Evans, of London, gent., on behalf of Innocent Read, esquire, leased to Anthony Bacon, the mansion house called the Priory of Redborne, with the appurtenances, for three years. Anthony took over stocks of corn value 80 *l*., securing payment by a bond in the penal sum of 140 *l*. He sealed a further writing obligatory conditioned for "keeping implements in good sort." Owing to Anthony's

(29) Enrolled in Chancery, 1 Nov., 40 Eliz.; C54, 1605. The manor of Windridge (Cashio hundred) had been acquired by Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1573, according to Cussans, and the same authority records that the manor of Napsbury was conveyed by Ralph Rowlet to Sir Nicholas with remainder to Anthony, etc., in 1561. The manor of Burston had been granted by the King to Nicholas Bacon in 1544 (C66, 766).

(30) C66, 1764, no. 33. (31) C66, 1395, m.22.

(32) Mich., 35 & 36 Eliz.; C.P.25(2), Bdle. 140.

(33) C43, m.36. (34) Sped., ix, 247. (35) C66, 1395, m.4

(36) Enrolled in Chancery, 18 Sept.; C54, 1442.

(37) C.P.43, m.84. (38) C.P.43, m.22d. (39) C.P.43, m.43.

servant, Lawson, "suffering a sudden infirmity and being unable to travel," 40 *l.* remained unpaid, whereupon Evans, in Trinity term, 1595, sued Bacon on the two bonds. The latter, resenting the harsh treatment, exhibited a bill of complaint in Chancery, 7th July, 1595.[40]

The brothers frequently aided each other in their financial difficulties.[41] Spedding has shown that Anthony applied 200 *l.* of the money received from Spencer to relieve his brother Francis, who, on 4th Oct., 1594, acknowledged his debt to be 650 *l.*, but actual count of the items makes a larger sum.[42] In 1598, if the word of Francis Allen, the merchant, and Anthony Bacon may be accepted, Francis owed his brother 1,800 *l.*[43]

Assistance had been given to the Bacons by Nicholas Trott, of Gray's Inn[44] (writer of the introduction to *Misfortunes of Arthur*) as appears by a letter from Anthony to Lady Bacon, 10th June, 1594, expressing appreciation of the kindness received.[45] Trott, however, had no intention of losing by his generosity, and, in fact, he seems to have demanded much the same terms as any of the other lenders. In December a proposal was on foot for Francis Bacon to assign to him his patent for the reversion of the clerkship of the Star Chamber.[46]

On 9th Dec., 37 Eliz. [1594], Francis Bacon and Nicholas Trott (as surety) borrowed 600 *l.* from William Fleetwood, of Ealing, Midx., general receiver of the Court of Wards, binding themselves in twice that amount to make repayment by 15th June following. Further time must have been given for the enrolment was not cancelled until 16th Nov., 1599.[47] In a letter the following day to Anthony, Francis promises to free him of 100 *l*, for which amount he stands bound to William Fleetwood, and, reminding him of his promise to join him in security for 500 *l.*, sends him a bond of 600 *l.*, apparently to satisfy Peter Vanlore, a London merchant.[48] On this day (10th Dec.), as evidenced by proceedings in the Common Bench, the brothers jointly gave to Richard Williams a bond for 1,000 *l.* The amount of the advance is not specified.[49] Possibly the references relate to the same transaction.

In 1594 Francis Bacon had become indebted to one, Sugden, who, in Jan., 1594/5 became so pressing for a settlement that he (Francis) was constrained to apply to his uncle, Sir Henry Killigrew, for a loan of 200 *l.* for six months. Sir Henry seems also to have been dependent on Sugden's aid,[50] and there is no trace of any assistance being given. In May, 1595, Francis Bacon obtained some small relief from Stone, a professional money lender, who will be noticed again.

The manor of Marks, on 18th May, 1595, was again mortgaged to George Harvey to secure an advance of 1,300 *l.*, repayment

(40) C3, 232-51.
(41) Letter from Francis Bacon to Lady Bacon, 4 Oct. 1593; Sped. viii, 264.
(42) Lamb. MS. 661, 30; Sped., viii, 322.
(43) C3, 258-52, Answer.
(44) Anthony's correspondence for the Autumn of 1594 is full of requests for loans. (Sped., viii, 321).
(45) Lamb. MS., 650, 137; Sped. viii, 323.
(46) Lamb. MS., 650, 207; 652. 54; Sped. viii, 323.
(47) C54, 1513. (48) Lamb. MS., 650, 227; Sped., viii, 323.
(49) C.P.40, 1566, m.515; 1570, m.604.
(50) Sped., viii, 349, 352.

being acknowledged on 16th November,[51] when a further mortgage for six months was enrolled.[52] Lady Bacon must have released all her right, for Francis Bacon, unable to find the money for redemption, on 23rd May, 38 Eliz. [1596] alone conveyed the manor to the mortgagee for 1,500 *l.*[53]

On 26th Aug., 1595, Anthony Bacon, armiger, and his servant, Robert Prentis, gent., obtained a licence to alienate the rectory of Redbourne, Herts. (the advowson excepted) to William Ryder, of London, alderman, Edward Ryder, haberdasher, and William Bane, dyer.[54] By indenture made 28th Aug., 1595, Anthony and Francis Bacon, and Robert Prentys, of Breyston, Norf., gent., granted the rectory to Alderman Ryder for securing repayment of 1,100 *l.* on 30th Aug., 1596.[55] The loan must have been repaid, a further mortgage being effected early the following year.[56]

Edward, the third son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, had been granted, on 3rd Mar., 16 Eliz., a lease from the Crown of Istleworth Park alias "the new Park of Richmond" (i.e., Twickenham Park) for twenty-one years,[57] and upon reversion at Mich. term, 1595, Queen Elizabeth (17th Nov., 38 Eliz., 1595) leased the 104 ac. of park and meadow to Francis Bacon for a further twenty-one years, at the end of which period the park was demised to John Wakeman and Joseph Earth.[58]

A letter of Francis Bacon (12th Mar., 1595-6) shows that his marsh lands (unspecified) were mortgaged for 1,000 *l.* and "standing to be redeemed on 24th March. He had arranged to sell them for 1,600 *l.* to a "man in the City," who at the last moment failed to implement his bargain, and therefore he wrote to Henry Maynard and Michael Hicks, secretaries of Lord Burghley, asking for help and offering as "collateral pawn the assurance of his lease of Twicknam."[59]

With their resources exhausted, the brothers could no longer keep themselves out of the courts. In Easter term, 1596, both were summoned in the Common Bench to answer Richard Williams, armiger, touching payment of 1,000 *l.* in which penal sum they were jointly and severally bound by writing obligatory sealed on 10th Dec., 37 Eliz. [1594].[60] Leave to imparl having been granted, the next term Thomas Martin (defendant's attorney) offering no plea in bar, Williams obtained judgment for the amount claimed, together with 7 *l.* 10*s.* damages.[61] The case being undefended, no indication of the original amount of the loan is obtained.

On 14th July, 38 Eliz. [1596] the Queen granted to Francis Bacon a lease of 60 ac. of wood in Zelwood Forest, Somers., for twenty-one years at an annual rent of 7 *l.* 10*s.*[62]

Francis Bacon, on 25th May, 1595, had obtained a loan of 150 *l.* from William Stone, of St. Mary le Bow, binding himself by writing obligatory in a sum of 300 *l.* On 9th December Anthony

(51) Enrolled in Chancery; C54, 1508. (52) C54, 1532.
(53) Enrolled in Chancery, C54, 1528. (54) C66, 1432, m.17.
(55) Enrolled in Chancery, C54, 1496. (56) See below.
(57) C66, 1113, m.3; A transcript is given by W. H. Dixon (*Personal History* 354).
(58) C66, 1448, m.20; Transcript, Dixon, 359.
(59) Lansdowne MS., lxxx, 176; Sped., ix, 28.
(60) C.P.40, 1566, m.515. (61) C.P.40, 157, m.604.
(62) C66, 1448, m.25; Transcript given by Dixon, 357-8.

Bacon and Sir William Woodhouse, Kt., jointly and severally gave to the same money-lender a bond in 200 *l.* to secure a loan of 171 *l.*, and on 31st December a like bond to secure 150 *l.* The borrowers failing to comply with the conditions of repayment endorsed, Stone sued all three severally in Mich. term, 38& 39 Eliz. [1596] in the Court of Common Pleas. No verdict is recorded in the case of Francis Bacon, who, by his attorney, Reginald Sotherne, pleaded payment at due date, but the other two defendants lost their cases.[63]

By 1597 Francis Bacon's prospects of high office had become so remote that his creditors pressed for settlement of their claims, necessitating more and more borrowings, the repayments being secured by penal bonds and mortgages. On 13th Jan., 1596/7 Francis obtained a short term loan of 240 *l.* from Baptist Hicks, citizen and mercer of London, undertaking to repay 100 *l.* on 7th April, and 140 *l.* on 12th July. The recognizance in the penal sum of 480 *l.* enrolled in Chancery was not vacated until 26 July, 1599.[64]

By indenture made 12th Feb., 39 Eliz. [1597], the rectory of Redbourne was mortgaged to Stephen Soame, citizen and alderman of London, for securing payment of 1,057 *l.* on 7th April. In default Soame was to pay Francis Bacon a further 450 *l.* on 7th July following and to take the rectory.[65] Redbourne rectory probably changed hands, but the advowson was retained, Lady Bacon presenting in 1602 and Francis Bacon in 1616.

Francis Bacon's hope of becoming Solicitor-General vanished on 5th Nov., 1595, with the appointment of Serjeant Fleming, and to mitigate his disappointment the Earl of Essex enfeoffed him in land which he afterwards "sold for 1,800 *l.* and thought was more worth."[66] Bacon names the purchaser (Reynold Nicholas), but not the site. It now appears that the gift was the manor of Prestbury (near Cheltenham), which on 19th Nov., 38 Eliz. [1595] had been granted by Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, Thomas Crompton of Benyngton, Herts., esquire, and Robert Wright, to William Gerrard, of Harrow upon the Hill, Midx., esquire, and William Temple, gent., servant to the said Earl.[67] On 10th May, 1597, the grantees had licence to alienate the manor to Crompton and others.[68] By indenture dated 11th May, 39 Eliz. [1597], Francis Bacon, one of Her Majesty's Counsel learned in the law (who received 1,600 *l.*), Gerrard and Temple (who received 20s.), mortgaged the manor to Crompton, Edward Dodge, of London, esquire, and Reginald Nicholas, of Prestbury, gent., to secure payment of 1,680 *l.* on 16th November following.[69] In default of payment Crompton, Dodge and Nicholas covenanted to pay Francis Bacon a further 120 *l.* on 20th May, 1598, for the clear purchase of the manor.[70] This document is of interest, providing proof of Bacon's association with the Cotswolds.

---

(63) C.P. 40, 1578, m.2569; C.P.40, 1585, mm.2685, 2687-8.
(64) C54, 1576, m.23. (65) C54, 1573, m.24. Enrolled 18 July 1597.
(66) Sped., viii, 371.
(67) C54, 1561, m.21. (68) C66, 1476, m.34. (69) C54, 1561, m.21.
(70) According to Rudder the manor of Prestbury had been granted to the Earl of Leicester in 16 Eliz. He further says that Reginald Nicholas was servant to John, son of Thomas Chamberlain, a former lessee, and "he purchased a grant of the *reversion* of the manor."

Edward Briscoe, the elder, of Organhall, Herts., gent., on 10th May, 39 Eliz. [1597], gave Anthony Bacon 700 *l.* for the absolute purchase in fee simple of the manor of Napesbury, St. Peter's (St. Albans), and St. Stevens, Herts., the conveyance free of incumbrances committed by Anthony Bacon, Robert Prentis and Nicholas Trott, to be made before 8th November following.[71] Accordingly on 2nd Sept., 1597, Anthony and Francis Bacon and Robert Prentys had licence to alienate the manor of Napesbury, etc., to Edward Briscoe and Edward, his son and heir apparent.[72] Further evidence is provided by the fine which passed on the octave of St. Martin, 40 Eliz., whereby the Bacons and Prentice acknowledged the manor of Napesbury with the appurtenances and 4 messuages, 3 tofts, 4 gardens, 4 orchards, 300 ac. of land, 30 ac. of meadow, 150 ac. of pasture, 100 ac. of wood, and 100 ac. of furze and heath, etc., in the parish of St. Peter's and Shenley to be the right of the Briscoes, who gave them 400 *l.*[73]

On 18th Aug., 39 Eliz., Anthony Bacon, Francis Bacon and Robert Prentice mortgaged the manor of Burston, Herts, to secure payment of 1,000 marks to Nicholas Trott or Richard Wright, citizen and ironmonger of London, before 1st Nov., 1598.[74]

Again the scene is the law courts. In Mich. term, 39 & 40 Eliz. [1597] Francis Bacon was sued in the Common Bench by one, Weld, as appears by the doggett,[75] the corresponding entry on the rolls not having been traced. The same term John Hulson and Edward Mellish brought an action to recover 200 *l.* owing to them by Francis, as acknowledged by his bond dated 5th June, 38 Eliz. [1596]. The debtor, by his attorney, Thomas Martin, pleaded that he sealed only under fear of threats against his life, but in Hilary term [1598] an unsympathetic jury gave a verdict for Plaintiff for the amount claimed, together with 60*s.* damages.[76]

On 27th Feb., 40 Eliz. [1598], Queen Elizabeth marked her appreciation of Francis Bacon's services further by leasing him the rectory and church at Cheltenham with the chapel at Charlton Kings for forty years.[77] This grant led to proceedings in Chancery (May, 1599) from which it appears that on 21st July, 40 Eliz. [1598] Bacon mortgaged his lease to William Higgs to secure the repayment of a loan of 1,000 marks with interest at ten per cent per annum on 6th Feb., 1598/9.[78]

By fine levied in eight days of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, 40 Eliz., Anthony Bacon, armiger, acknowledged 20 ac. of land, 10 ac. of pasture, and 40 ac. of wood, etc., in Shenley,

---

(71) Bond of Anthony and Francis Bacon in 1,400 *l.* enrolled in Chancery. C54, 1576, m.15.

(72) C66, 1476, m.34.

(73) C.P. 25(2), Bdle 140; Mich, 39 and 40 Eliz. Trott's interest is noticed by Cussans (*History of Hertfordshire*, iii, Cashio, 275). He records that "in 1597 Anthony Bacon granted the reversion of the manor, after the death of his mother, to Nicholas Trott, and on 29 June 1599, Dame Anne Bacon, by her grant, put the same Nicholas in immediate possession of the manor." (From original deeds).

(74) Enrolled in Chancery, 7 Jan., 40 Eliz. C54, 1595, m.23.

(75) Index 107, m.8. (76) C.P. 40, 1600, m.2686d.

(77) C66, 1482, m.26; A transcript is given by W.H. Dixon (*Personal History*, 373-82).

(78) C3, 257-13; For an account of this transaction, see H. Hardy in BACONIANA, 3 Ser., xi, 104-9.

Herts, to be the right of Richard Coxe, armiger, who gave him 41 *l.*[79]

The Common Plea doggett for Easter term, 40 Eliz. [1598], evidences further writs against the Bacons, but the relative rolls having disappeared or decayed, one has to be satisfied with the bare entries, such as Kympton *v.* F. Bacon; Kympton *v.* A. Bacon; Wright *v.* F. Bacon; and possibly others, which not having an initial letter cannot be identified.

The next item may be looked at in more detail. In Hilary term, 40 Eliz. [1598] Giles Simpson, goldsmith, had sued both Francis and Anthony Bacon severally on a bond for 500 *l.* The usual *licencia interloquendi* being granted until Easter,[80] Giles, by John Bever, his attorney, then declared that Anthony, on 15th Apr., 39 Eliz. [1597], at London, in the parish of St. Mary le Bow in Cheap Ward, acknowledged himself by writing obligatory to be bound in the sum of 500 *l.* to be paid on demand. Anthony, by Thomas Martin, his attorney, came and defended the force and wrong, and prayed that the writing and the endorsement might be read. The latter follows the usual form:

> The condition of this obligation is such that if the within-bounden Francis Bacon, Anthony Bacon and Robert Knight or any of them or their heirs, executors, or assigns, of them or any of them do truly pay or cause to be paid to the within-named Giles Sympson, his executors, administrators, or assigns, at or in the now dwelling house of the said Giles situate in Lombard Street in London the sum of three hundred and fifteen pounds of lawful money of England on 16th October next ensuing the date within written without fraud or delay that this present obligation to be void and of none effect or else to remain and abide in full strength and virtue.

Anthony Bacon thereupon said that Giles ought not to have his action because Francis paid the 315 *l.* on due date at London in the parish of St. Mary Wolnoth in Langborn Ward, at the dwelling of the said Giles in Lombard Street. A jury attended the next term, but the Sheriff failed to send the writ, and the case was continued until Trinity term (1598).[81] It appears from a letter written by Francis Bacon to Sir Thomas Egerton (24th Sept. 1598) that in Trinity term, he having confessed the action, Simpson agreed to "respite the satisfaction" until the beginning of the term next ensuing, but two weeks earlier, without warning, served an execution as he (Francis) came from the Tower, and would have had him in prison had not Sheriff More "gently recommended him to an handsome house in Coleman Street."[82] Bacon, although full of indignation at his bad treatment, could not pass by the opportunity of punning, and accordingly dubs Simpson "a Lombard from the street he dwells in."[83] From this humorous remark has been derived the story that Francis Bacon, being harassed by Jews and Lombards

---

(79) Hilary, 40 Eliz. C.P.25(2), Bdle. 141.

(80) C.P.40, 1605, m.1608.

(81) C.P.40. 1608, m.1917.

(82) Evidently a "sponging house," a place of preliminary confinement, and not a prison.

(83) Sped. ix., 107.

and thrown into prison and the Tower, in revenge wrote the *Merchant of Venice*.[84] Actually that play had been registered on 22 July, 1598,[85] two months earlier than the act of which the debtor complained.

Giles Simpson[86] was one of the fashionable money-lenders of the day, and not infrequently had his titled clients in the Common Bench. He had, however, no hesitation in obliging when a suitable consideration was offered, and Francis Bacon, having available a hundred pounds,[87] had no difficulty in staving off immediate trouble and obtaining his freedom, for two days later (26th Sept., 40 Eliz.) Simpson accepted further bonds to pay 500 *l*. At the end of twelve months Bacon again found himself in court at the suit of the goldsmith, and Martin praying the never-failing "lilo," a day was given until Hilary term (1599/1600).[88] In the margin of the record occurs the word "error," but unfortunately the roll for Hilary, 42 Eliz., is now unfit for production and the details cannot be determined.[89]

Further indications of the efforts of Anthony Bacon to raise money are to be found. On 2nd Sept., 1598, he and Robert Prentice obtained a licence to alienate 1 messuage, 1 mill, 1 garden, 40 ac. of land, 12 ac. of meadow, 24 ac. of pasture, 13 ac. of wood, and free fishing, with the appurtenances, in St. Michael's next St. Albans, and Redbourn, Herts., to William Preston, gent.,[90] and a fine passed in eight days of St. Martin, 41 Eliz., by which the said lands (with slight variation) were acknowledged to be the right of Preston, who gave 120 *l*.[91] A similar concord relates to a further 24 ac. Another licence was obtained on 2nd Dec. to alienate 26 ac. in Shawford and St. Michael's to Giles Marston,[92] and by fine levied in Hilary term, 41 Eliz. (1598/9) Anthony Bacon and Robert Prentyse acknowledged the said lands to be the right of Giles Marston, who gave them 41 *l*. By a second fine passed the same term, Bacon and Prentyse acknowledged 1 messuage, 1 orchard, 60 ac. of land, and 6 ac. of wood in Westwick, to be the right of Richard Lazeby and Thomas Fynch, who gave them 41 *l*.[93] On 2nd Mar., 1598/9, Anthony Bacon and Robert Prentyse obtained a licence to alienate 26 ac. of land in Westwick to Richard Smyth, the younger.[94]

Writs became uncomfortably frequent. In Hilary term, 41 Eliz. [1598/9] Francis Bacon was summoned to answer Henry Banyster in the Common Bench touching a balance of 166 *l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. due under a writing obligatory dated 1 Jan., 40 Eliz. [1598]. Defendant, by his attorney, Thomas Martyn, pleaded that under threats of personal injury he sealed the bond. A jury coming in Easter Term, Bacon did not appear, and accordingly Plaintiff

(84) Mr. Gould of Montreal claimed to have found in cipher in the *Merchant of Venice* that Bacon's experience with a "hard Jew" lies at the basis of the plot. BACONIANA, Apr. 1894, N.S., ii, 5, 235; see also 3 Scr., vi, 179 and ix, 13.
(85) Arber, iii, 122.
(86) Giles Simpson of the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, opened business about 1579 (C3, 224-85), and on 27th Jan. 1589/90 married Christian Ferne of the same parish. He died in May 1609 (Par. Reg.).
(87) Sped., ix, 108. (88) C.P.40, 1632, m.218.
(89) The reference is C.P. 1636, m.114. (90) C66, 1487, m.32.
(91) Mich. 40 & 41 Eliz. C.P.25(2), Bdle. 141.
(92) C66, 1506, m.6.
(93) C.P.25(2), Bdle. 141. (94) C66, 1510, m.10.

obtained judgment for the amount claimed, together with 10 *l.* for his damages and costs.[95]

In Michaelmas term, 41 & 42 Eliz. [1599] in the Common Bench, Geoffrey Abbott sued Francis Bacon to recover 60 *l.* acknowledged by writing obligatory dated 8th Aug., 40 Eliz. [1598] and payable on 1st November then next following. No defence being offered Plaintiff obtained judgment for the amount claimed together with 40*s.* damages.[96] The same term both Anthony and Francis were summoned in the Common Bench to answer John Claydon, gent., touching an amount of 200 *l.* acknowledged by writing obligatory dated 18th Aug., 40 Eliz. [1598]. Thomas Martyn for the Bacons could only answer *non sum informatus* and verdict was given for Plaintiff for the amount claimed together with 53*s.* 4*d.* damages. Afterwards, on 29 June, 1 Jas., Claydon acknowledged that the debt had been satisfied.[97]

In Michaelmas term also, William Johnson of Gray's Inn, gentleman, one who had much to do with Gray's Inn sports, brought his action in the Common Pleas against both the Bacon brothers to recover 400 *l.* in which sum they had, on 1st June, 39 Eliz. [1597] acknowledged themselves to be bound to Plaintiff. No less than 200 *l.* was claimed in respect of damages. Thomas Reade, on behalf of Francis Bacon, could not deny the debt, bond, nor the action of William, and therefore the court considered that Plaintiff should recover, the damages being assessed at 90*s.*[98] It appears from William Noy's report[99] of this case that, upon judgment being given, a *capias utlegatum* was delivered to the sheriff in court. Such a writ would only lie against a person if he had been formally exacted, of which there is no trace at that time in the case of Bacon. About this time, however, a writ of exigent must have been directed to the Sheriff because on Monday next before the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist, 42 Eliz. [21 Apr. 1600] Bacon was outlawed in London at the suit of William Johnson, armiger,[100] and also at the suit of Sir Henry Nevell, Kt.,[101] and remained *extra legem* for upwards of three years. On 12th June, 42 Eliz., Bacon, in respect of Johnson, sued out a writ of error, and the record and process being sent by Anderson, L.C.J. into the Queen's Bench on 16th Oct., 42 Eliz. [1600][102] it was held that a man outlawed could not, without submission to the law, take any benefit by it. There is no evidence to show that outlawry was had elsewhere than in London, or that Bacon's goods and chattels were seized by the Crown, and he seems to have suffered little inconvenience, except for the slur.

In November, 1599, that is about the time of the proceedings brought by Johnson, Francis Bacon, by an indenture acknowledged in Chancery on 3rd December, for good cause, gave to Queen Elizabeth, his manor of Gorhambury with Gorhambury House (presumably his fee-tail), but reserved the right to vacate the gift upon bringing into the Court of Exchequer, a gold ring worth 5 *l.* 5*s.*[103] The object of this proceeding may have been to obviate

(95) C.P.40, 1623, m.2751.
(96) C.P.40, 1633, m.756d.
(97) C.P.40, 1633, m.1112d.
(98) C.P.40, 1634, m.1230.
(99) 1656 ed., p. 171.
(100) C.P.40, 1703, m.131.
(101) C.P.40, 1704, m.838d.
(102) C.P.40, 1634, m.1230.
(103) Enrolled in Chancery, 23 Jan. 1599—1600; C54, 1658.

the possibility of Anthony breaking the entail, but in any case Francis continued to fear something of the kind, and on 12th Mar. 1599/1600, that is about a month previous to his outlawry, he wrote a remarkable letter to the Queen, requesting for the help of his estate, three parcels of land, worth "eighty and odd pounds" [per annum] "for her benignity and love towards him" to be conferred upon him in fee-simple. He declared that "it would comfort his mother not to leave his estate troubled and engaged; and the gift would enable him to get into his own hands Gorhambury," which he feared his brother "would endeavour to put away."[104] There is no reference to his own "gift" of November, and the intention is obscure, but evidently Francis feared that his mother had not long to live, when Gorhambury would pass to Anthony. The brothers cannot at this time have been seeing eye to eye, but it is difficult to believe that Anthony would cut an entail of the Queen, and, moreover, the manor was held in chief, and he could not strictly alienate without royal licence, although it may be gathered from the pardons on the Patent Rolls that such was often done.

Anthony Bacon had meanwhile to tap other sources. By indenture dated 9th Dec., 42 Eliz. [1599] he mortgaged Lawrence Farm in St. Michael's (St. Albans) to David Holliland to secure payment of 300 *l.* on 8th December following.[105] On 1st Sept., 1600, Anthony obtained a licence to alienate the manor of Wyndrych alias Windrige in the parish of St. Michael's,[106] and by the fine which passed on the morrow of St. Martin, 41 Eliz., he acknowledged the manor, with 20 messuages, 20 tofts, 1 dovehouse, 20 gardens, 500 ac. of land, 10 ac. of meadow, 200 ac. of pasture, 200 ac. of wood, 100 ac. of furze and heath, and 20 *l.* rents in St. Michael's to be the right of John Crosby, who gave him 600 *l.*[107]

In Hilary term, 42 Eliz. [1600], besides Simpson's case the doggett also notices Mellish *v.* Bacon and Nevell *v.* Bacon.[108] Mellish may be the lender named above, and Nevell, a kinsman, but unfortunately the plea roll is not only imperfect, but also unfit for production. Both names crop up again later. The following term, in the Queen's Bench, Nicholas Trott complained of Francis Bacon "in custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea" that he unjustly detained 400 *l.* acknowledged by writing obligatory dated 12th July, 41 Eliz. [1599]. Thomas Bland (Bacon's attorney) had the bond read, etc., but Trott recovered the amount claimed, with 10*s.* damages. Afterwards, on 1st July, 1601, Trott acknowledged satisfaction.[109] In Trinity term also, in the Common Bench before Anderson, L.C.J., Francis Allen obtained a judgment against Francis Bacon for 750 *l.* and 6 *l.* 10*s.* damages. Bacon, ordered to appear on the quindene of Easter, 44 Eliz. [1602], to show why Allen should not have execution against him, although solemnly called, came not, and the Sheriff returned a *non est inventus*.[110] Further proceedings arising out of this matter will be noticed at a later stage.

Anthony Bacon was also summoned to answer in the Common

(104) Add. MS, 12514, f. 97; Transcript, Sped., ix, 165-6.
(105) Enrolled in Chancery, 1 Jan. 1599/1600; C54, 1664.
(106) C66, 1518, m.22.
(107) C.P.25 (2), Bdle. 141. Mich. 41 & 42 Eliz.
(108) Index 120, m.l. (109) K.B.27, 1361, m.430.
(110) C.P.40, 1682, m.1514.

Bench (Trin., 42 Eliz., 1600) touching a sum of 200 *l.* acknowledged by bond on 31st Aug., 41 Eliz. [1599], to be owing to William Fynynge. Anthony's attorney, Thomas Reade, not being "informed" judgment was given for Plaintiff with 40*s.* damages.[111] Several actions likewise remained undefended in Hilary term, 43 Eliz. [1601]. Nicholas Trott sued Francis Bacon and William Cooke, armiger, for 400 *l.* acknowledged by bond dated 12th July, 41 Eliz. [1599], and obtained judgment for the amount claimed together with 66*s.* 8*d.* damages.[112] In Easter term 1 Jas., Trott prayed execution against William Cooke, who craved the usual imparlance.[113] Humfrey Hooper sued on a bond dated 31st August, 39 Eliz. [1597], and on 28th Nov., 2 Jas. [1604], he acknowledged the debt 80 *l.* and damages 44*s.* to have been paid.[114] John Seaman, LL.D., brought his action against both Anthony and Francis Bacon to recover 200 *l.*, the penal sum fixed by bond dated 22nd Feb., 40 Eliz. Afterwards, on 27th Nov., 9 Jas. [1611], Dr. John acknowledged that Francis had satisfied him as to the debt and 70*s.* damages.[115]

Notwithstanding the crop of writs Francis Bacon wrote cheerfully to Michael Hicks on 25 Jan., 1600/1, that he was about "to free himself from all debts which are any ways in suit or urged" and praying him "to help him out with 200 *l.* more for six months."[116] In a further letter Bacon suggested Mr. Francis Anger of Gray's Inn and Sir Thomas Hobby as sureties.[117]

Anthony Bacon, having redeemed the mortgage on Lawrence Farm about the end of 1600 immediately (16th Jan., 43 Eliz.) reassigned the property to John Merick, citizen and merchant tailor of London, in consideration of 500 *l.*, with the proviso that on payment of 534 *l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* on or before 29th Sept., 1601, the bargain and sale should be void.[118] Soon afterwards Anthony took his last illness, his death being noticed by John Chamberlain, on 27th May, 1601.[119]

Just as Francis had doubted Anthony, so in turn did Sir Nicholas Bacon, the eldest half-brother, doubt Francis, and to guard against his breaking the entail of Gorhambury, evidently about 1601—3, conveyed his remainder to the Queen, her heirs and successors, with the reservation that if he paid 100 *l.* the grant should be void.[120] A docquet of 1608 which refers to the gift adds "wch was aparantly done to barre the said Sr. Fra. to dispose of the same landes, wch otherwise by lawe he might have done."[121]

In April, 1601, Francis Bacon received some verbal abuse delivered publicly in the Exchequer by Attorney-General Coke, who among other innuendoes said: "it were good to clap a *capias utlegatum* upon his back." To which Bacon replied that "he could not; and that he was at fault; for he hunted upon an old scent."[122] The full meaning of this answer is not evident, Bacon being at the time still an outlaw.

---

(111) C.P.40, 1645, m.1759.
(112) C.P.40, 1654, m.534.
(113) C.P.40, 1702, m.1721.
(114) C.P.40, 1655, m.736d.
(115) C.P.40, 1657, m.1601.
(116) Landsowne MS., lxxxviii, f.6.
(117) Lansdowne MS., lxxxvii, f. 224; Transcripts, Sped., viii, 205.
(118) Enrolled in Chancery, 30 April; C54, 1702.
(119) S.P. (Dom.) 1601-3.
(120) Usually such grants were enrolled on the Close Rolls, but I do not trace this one.
(121) S.P.38., 9. (122) Sped., x, 3.

The prime movers in the Essex conspiracy having been executed in May, 1601, it was arranged that the other traitors should purchase pardons. The Queen ordered that out of Catesby's fine of 4,000 *l.*, an honorarium of 1,200 *l.* should be given to Bacon, but considerable time elapsed before payment was made,[123] and it did not go very far round the creditors.

An account at Lambeth Palace shows that Nicholas Trott, who, commencing about 1594, had freely lent Bacon money when his prospects were good, had not rested content with bonds and sureties (William Johnson, cousin Kemp, cousin Cooke, and Edward Jones,) but had also secured a mortgage of Twickenham Park.[124] Towards the end of 1601 he was threatening to foreclose, and Bacon, doubting the accuracy of the claim, submitted it to the Lord Treasurer. According to the account the total loan amounted to 2,650 *l.*, of which 2,093 *l.* had been repaid, and Trott was demanding a further 2,035 *l.* in principal and interest. Bacon offered 1,259 *l.*, but Spedding says it is probable that the amount awarded by the Lord Treasurer's auditor was 1,800 *l.* to be paid by 22nd Dec., 1601. Trott making some further concession,[125] the money was paid in Jan., 1601/2, and Twickenham Park redeemed.[126]

Some time after the death of Anthony and before the redemption of Twickenham Park, Francis made up a note of his debts, from which it appears that his liabilities were 2,000 *l.* owing to the Lord Treasurer; 500 *l.* to "your Honour" (evidently Cecil); and 1,200 *l.* the amount of the Twickenham mortgage; and 1,300 *l.* debts of his brother Anthony.[127]

In Hilary term, 44 Eliz [1602] Francis Bacon was summoned in the Common Bench (both personally, and as administrator of the estate of Anthony, who had died intestate), by the executors of Thomas Lawson, touching a debt of 500 *l.* acknowledged by writing obligatory dated 9th Sept., 40 Eliz. [1598]. Thomas Martyn, defendant's attorney, not being informed, Plaintiffs obtained judgment with 80*s.* damages. Afterwards, on 12th Feb., 7 Jas. [1610], payment was acknowledged.[128] The same term Francis Bacon was sued by Edward Mellish on a bond for 60 *l.* dated 9 Jan., 43 Eliz. Imparlance being craved, a day was given, but nothing further has been noticed.[129] On 28th June, 1602, in the Queen's Bench, Giles Simpson again turns up by attorney, William Langhorne, bringing his bill against Francis Bacon "in custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea." By writing obligatory dated 19th June, 44 Eliz., Francis Bacon had acknowledged a debt of 200 *l.* for which amount Giles received judgment together with 10*s.* damages.[130] Having borrowed 50 *l.* from Christopher Wase on 18th Feb., 44 Eliz. [1602], and failing to make repayment, Francis Bacon was in Easter term, 1 Jas. [1603] in the Common Bench sued on his bond for 100 *l.* Plaintiff obtained the verdict and an award of 80*s.* damages.[131] A similar entry relates to William Cooke. The same term Francis Bacon and William Cooke were summoned in the

(123) Sped., x, 14. (124) Sped., x, 40-4.
(125) Letters of Nicholas Trott, 19 Dec. 1601 (Lansd. lxxxviii, 48-54).
(126) Sped., x, 44. (127) Sped., x, 82.
(128) C.P. 40, 1676, m. 1212.
(129) C.P.40, 1677, m.1913.
(130) Trin. 44 Eliz.; K.B. 27, 1375, m.1065.
(131) C.P.40, 1700, mm.940, 940d.

Common Pleas to answer Sir John Hart, Kt., touching a debt of 600 *l.* acknowledged by writing obligatory dated 30th May, 40 Eliz. [1598]. From the conditions endorsed it appears that Francys Bakon (*sic*) and William Cooke had bound themselves jointly and severally to pay 315 *l.* on 1st December to Sir John Harte, Kt. of Candleweeke Street, in the parish of St. Swithin, London. Francis pleading that he had paid, a jury was ordered.[132]

Francis Bacon, as administrator of Anthony's estate had the settlement of his debts, and being as he believed unconscionably treated by Francis Allen, sometime a friend of Anthony, exhibited his bill of complaint in the Court of Chancery on 20th May, 1602. It appears that Allen, a merchant, supplied Anthony with silks, satins, velvets, "grogreyns" and like commodities, which he used to "give and bestow upon suche straungers that bare hym in hand they broughte hym intelligence." About 1598, Anthony being indebted in the sum of 525 *l.*, with Francis as surety, entered into a bond of 1,000 *l.* conditioned for payment of 525 *l.* on 7th Jan., 40 Eliz. [1597/8]. Afterwards, Anthony and Sir Thomas Challinor became bound in 500 *l.* to doubly secure payment of 250*l.*, part of the 525 *l.* In Easter term, 44 Eliz. [1602] the bond for 1,000 *l.* was put in suit in the Common Pleas, and upon a *nihil dicit*, as noticed above, judgment obtained by Allen for 750 *l.*, the reason for the reduction being afterwards the subject of dispute. Anthony, after sealing the writing obligatory, purchased more goods from Allen, and he and Challinor made various payments, but the state of the account had become involved, Bacon saying that only 250 *l.* remained unpaid, Allen claiming 347 *l.* 2*s.*[133]

Three years after the promulgation of outlawry at the suit of William Johnson noticed above, the Sheriff of Middlesex was ordered to take Francis Bacon, late of Gray's Inn, armiger, and have his body in the Common Bench on the morrow of Holy Trinity, I Jas. [20th June, 1603]. The Sheriff returned a *non est inventus* whereupon William Johnson, by Thomas Waller, his attorney, acknowledged satisfaction of the debt of 400 *l.* and 90*s.* damages. Upon Thomas Martin (for Bacon) citing Elizabeth's last statute, the general pardon of Mich., 43 & 44 Eliz. [1601],[134] which act extended to those outlaws who had satisfied the parties at whose suit they had been outlawed, and also declaring that Bacon at the time of passing the statute was a subject of the Queen, *natus sub obediencia dicte nuper Regine videlicet apud Gorhambury*, the pardon was allowed.[135] A somewhat similar entry relates to outlawry at the suit of Sir Henry Nevill, Kt. (Bacon's nephew and brother-in-law). The general pardon of 43 Eliz. again being cited, but not Bacon's birth-place, Thomas Martyn declared that record of payment of the debt was entered on the roll for Hilary term, 42 Eliz., m.2 (now unfit). Accordingly the Court held that Francis goes quit of the outlawry.[136]

---

(132) C.P.40, 1700, m.607. (133) C3, 258-52.

(134) 43 Eliz. c.19.

(135) C.P. 40, 1703, m.131. This reference to his birth is manifestly in error. Rawley in his *Life of the Honourable Author*, says Bacon was born at York House or Place, 22 Jan. 1560, *i.e.*, 1561. Bacon himself, writing to the Duke of Lennox mentioned York House as his place of birth (Sped. xiv, 327), which seems probable as the baptism is registered at St. Martin in the Fields. Again, in his will, Bacon refers to his birth in that parish (Sped. xiv., 540).

(136) C.P.40, 1704, m.838d.

On 3rd July, 1603, in a communication to Robert, Lord Cecil, Bacon, referring to his "late disgrace," alleged a contempt, which he thought deserved punishment. Possibly this reference had some relation to the action of the sheriff. Bacon was then busy negotiating sales of his land, and as he puts it "selling the skirts of his living in Hertfordshire to preserve the body."[137]

Francis Bacon received knighthood on 23rd July, 1603, and the following year appointed King's counsellor-at-law with a salary of 40 *l.* per annum,[138] and in consideration of the faithful services of himself and his "brother-german" Anthony, given an annuity of 60*l.*[139]

Only one more debt action is to be found. In Hilary term, 3 Jas. [1605/6], Francis Bacon, Kt., William Cooke and Edward Jones were summoned to answer Edward and William Salter, gentlemen, touching a debt of 500 *l.* acknowledged by writing obligatory dated 23rd June, 2 Jas., and conditioned for payment of 288*l* 14*s.* to be paid upon 23rd Nov., within the Common Hall of Gray's Inn. On 9th May Plaintiffs acknowledged satisfaction.[140]

As Spedding found nothing relating to Lady Bacon between the years 1600 and 1610, when she died,[141] it may be of interest to note that on 1st Mar., 1605/6, jointly with her son, and as a necessary preliminary to his marriage settlement, she had licence to alienate the manor of Gorhambury,[142] and on 14th June, 1608, had a pardon as noticed above. Early in May, 1606, Sir Francis Bacon married.[143]

The year 1607 saw Bacon's financial troubles at an end, he being appointed solicitor-general, and the following year he became clerk of the Star Chamber, having waited for nineteen years for the reversion to fall in. These two offices he valued at 3,000 *l.* per annum.[144] On 28th Oct., 1609, according to a schedule drawn up by himself, Bacon owed 4,740 *l.*,[145] but had no further difficulties in satisfying his creditors.

From these notes it has to be concluded that the "Jews" who harassed Francis Bacon were in general, kinsman, personal friends, and the big London merchants, who had occasion to invest such profits as were not required for trading.

---

(137) Sped., x, 80 (138) C66, 1659, n.14.
(139) C66, 1642, m.14. (140) C.P.40, 1751, m.1948.
(141) Bishop G. Goodman (*The Court of James I*, i. 285) states that Lady Bacon "was little better than frantic in her age." Mrs. Pott (*Thirty-two Reasons*, 4) "that her mind gave way about 1601." No authority is cited, and it seems improbable.
(142) C66, 1688, m.21 from end; See also inquisitiones post mortem, C142, 515, 75; Court of Wards, 86, 75.
(143) S.P. (Dom), 1603-10, p.317. (144) Sped., xi, 86.
(145) Sped., xi, 95.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editors of Baconiana.

Dear Sirs,—*Comus*, according to Isaac D'Israeli, is a Jacobean Masque, presented first when John Milton was four years old; confirming what I have always believed, that it was not the work of a man like Milton, totally opposed to Stage Plays and Court Masques. It reads like Francis Bacon and no one else. Of course D'Israeli may be perfectly right when he says it was "compiled to celebrate the creation of Charles I, as Prince of Wales; a scene in this Mask presented the Castle and town of Ludlow; scenical effects existed in great perfection in these Masques." But he was distinctly wrong when claiming Milton for its author.

Yours sincerely,
Alicia A. Leith.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF "DON QUIXOTE."

To the Editors of Baconiana.

Sirs.—The late Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence was the first, I think, to suggest that Francis Bacon was the real author of *Don Quixote*, which was followed up by Mr. John Hutchinson, Mr. Parker Woodward and others. We know that Cervantes was *not*, because he tells us so quite plainly. "We two are one," the author says, and "he knows how to act and I to record." There are so many phrases which are purely Baconian throughout the book that one scarcely knows what to think. As to changing names—"well," said Don Quixote, "if his majesty should chance to inquire who did this thing, tell him it was the Knight of the Lions, a name I intend henceforth to take up, in lieu of that which I hitherto assumed, of the Knight of the Doleful Countenance, in which proceeding I do but conform to the ancient custom of Knights-errant, who changed their names as often as they pleased, or as it suited with their advantage". In another place, it is strange that one of the squires is recognized by Sancho as "Thomas Cecial, my friend and neighbour." For Thomas Cecil was a friend and neighbour of Bacon's, as is well known. And the name doesn't sound particularly Spanish. What do other readers think?

Yours etc.,
J. Stone.

P.S.—Concerning the publishing of books, Don Quixote remarks about translators, Dr. Christoval de Figueroa and Don Juan de Xauregui, "where they happily leave in doubt which is the translation, and which the original." It has been contended that the alleged translation by Shelton from the Spanish into English was in fact the original, and the Spanish translation by Cervantes a more or less stilted effort.

THE SEQUENT LETTER CYPHER.

To the Editors of Baconiana.

Sirs,—The facility with which phrases can be formed under the rules of the Sequent Letter Cipher formed its chief safeguard against identification of authorship. Hence the application of the Cipher should only be made *after*, and not before, strong indications have been found pointing to a particular author. Then only are the cipher statements valid as giving contributory indication. Absolute proof is rarely possible and cannot be expected in the case of concealed writings, but justifiable inferences may be drawn from strong indications of authorship.

Similarly the Numerical Cipher should only be applied after, and not before, such indications.

In regard to the poem *Farewell to Fortune* issued in 1653 and reproduced as by Bacon in Baconiana for April 1926, it has also been attributed to Sir Walter Raleigh, Dr. Donne, Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Kenelm Digby. The indications are strong for Bacon, slight for Raleigh, and absent for the others.

The sequent Letter Cipher applied to the poem gives numerous affirmations in support of Bacon's authorship. The intrinsic evidence of the poem accords well with the rise, fall, and retirement of Bacon, in 1626, "into the cool shades of rest."

Yours truly,

R. L. Heinig.

BACONIAN LECTURES.

Since the last issue, the following lectures, with discussions, took place at Canonbury Tower, London. On April 6th, 1933, Mr. C. J. Hunt, B.A., gave "The Analysis of Shakespeare"; on May 4th, Miss Alicia A. Leith gave "Bacon, Shakespeare, and the Emblem Writers;" on June 1st, Mr. B. G. Theobald, B.A., gave, "Edmund Spenser;" on July 6th, Mrs. Vernon Bayley, gave "Bacon's Re-Birth;" on September 7th, Mr. Vaughan Welsh, gave "The Treble-Dated Crow;" on Oct. 8th, Miss Alicia A. Leith, gave "William Blake and Francis Bacon;" on Nov. 2nd, Mr. B. G. Theobald, B.A., gave "Ben Jonson as a Baconian;" and on Dec. 7th, Mr. Howard Bridgewater gave "Shakespeare Dethroned by the Stratfordians." They were all well-attended and all provoked much intelligent discussion.

NOTES AND NOTICES.

In the first place we beg to call attention to a number of printing errors in the last number which escaped notice before going to press. On page 104, line 28, add "Castelnau" in parenthesis at end of the quotation. On the next page, delete the letter "r" in "Fr." on line 30; on pp. 107 and 108, drop the *h* in Lochrine; on page 157, line 36, read *infamously* for "imfamously;;" in page 167, lines 32 and 33, read *L. Biddulph* for "H. Seymour" and insert latter name between "also" and "Hon. Secretary," and lastly on page 171, line 2, read *on* for "in."

We also beg to express our sincere regret to Capt. B. M. Ward, author of "The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford," for having unwittingly omitted to acknowledge his translation from the French of the quotation used from the letter of the Ambassador, Castelnau, referred to in the previous note.

At the last Annual Meeting of the Bacon Society held at Canonbury Tower, on March 2nd, 1933, the Annual Accounts for the preceding year were unanimously adopted. The following were elected as Officers for the current year. Mr. B. G. Theobald, president; Lady Sydenham, the Dowager Lady Boyle, Miss A. A. Leith, Mr. Horace Nickson, Mr. Frank Woodward, Mr. Harold Bayley, and Dr. H. Spencer Lewis, vice-presidents; Mr. H. Bridgewater, Chairman of Council; Mr. Percy Walters, Vice-Chairman; Mr. Lewis Biddulph, Hon. Treasurer; Mr. G. L. Emmerson, Auditor; Members of Council, Mrs. V. Bayley, Miss M. Sennett, Mr. W. L. Goldsworthy, Mr. Parker Brewis, Mr. W. H. Denning, Mr. C. Y. C. Dawbarn, Mr. T. Vaughan Welsh, Mr. J. B. Wells, and Mr. H. Seymour. At the first Council meeting afterwards held, Mr. H. Seymour was unanimously re-elected Hon. Secretary, and Miss Mabel Sennett, as Recording Secretary.

On 20th May, 1933, by kind permission of the Earl and Countess of Verulam, a visit was made to Gorhambury by members of the Bacon Society and of the Green Cross Society. The ruins of the original mansion built by Sir Nicholas Bacon and occupied for many years by Francis Bacon were inspected, and parties were conducted round the more modern building situate near by. Lady Verulam proved herself a most charming and accomplished guide to the many interesting pictures and other treasures of historical value. Perfect weather added to the enjoyment of a delightful afternoon.

Mrs. Vernon Bayley secured a whole page for the discussion of Bacon's claims as author of "Shakespeare" in *The Shakespeare Pictorial* for April last. It was an effective contribution and included a statement of the Bacon Society's objects and activities, which should do much good towards bringing some salient facts before readers of the Stratford magazine. The address of *The Shakespeare Pictorial*, is 37, High St., Stratford-on-Avon.

In an interview with the *Evening News* of Oct. 27th, 1933, Lord Raglan, who disbelieves the absurdity that the Stratford yokel wrote the plays ascribed to "Shakespeare," nevertheless gave utterance to the equally absurd belief that Shakespeare was one of a syndicate of half-a-dozen or so contemporary writers. This idea of Shakespeare standing for a noun of multitude has been stated before. Our Council Chairman, Mr. Howard Bridgewater, sent a timely telegram the next day to the editor, asking why Lord Raglan held no brief for Bacon? "How could group of men write same superlative style?" Here is a psychological question that must ever puzzle the critics.

The *South Wales Argus* of Sept. 23rd, 1933, printed a broadside article "Another View of the Baconian Theory," by Alexander M. Thompson ("Dangle") of *Clarion* fame. The writer does not feel justified in making up his mind whether to accept Shakespeare or Bacon as the real author of the plays and poems. But he gives a sympathetic consideration to Mr. Alfred Dodd's little book on The Sonnets, and incidentally brings out a good many points in a Baconian direction. "My own theory," says he, "is that no man wrote the plays attributed to Shakespeare. Robert Greene, in *A Groatsworth of Wit*, asked his fellow-dramatists, Marlowe, Nash and Peele, to beware of puppets 'that speak from our mouths,' and of 'antics garnished in our colours'."

It may be useful to some of our readers to call attention to cheap editions of books issued by Messrs. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., Bedford St., W.C.2., under the heading of "Everyman's Library." The following are notewothy—Agnes Strickland's *Life of Queen Elizabeth*, John Donne's *Poems*, Bacon's *Essays*, Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, Coleridge's *Essays and Lectures on Shakespeare*, Hobbes' *Leviathan*, Herrick's *Hesperides and Noble Numbers*, Stow's *Survey of London*, Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (Motteux trans.) 2 vols, Spenser's *Fairy Queen* (2 vols.), Ben Jonson's *Plays* (2 vols.), Marlowe's *Plays and Poems*, the select plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, Holinshead's *Chronicles as used in Shakespeare's Plays*, Machiavelli's *Prince*, Hazlitt's *Shakespeare's Characters*; and these are published in cloth, gilt, at 2s. per volume, the average postage 4d. Write for full list.

The sketch, on another page, of the Bacon Pedigree, draws attention to the interesting fact that the premier Baronets of England were both Bacons, half-brothers of Francis, by Sir Nicholas Bacon's first wife. The eldest of the brothers, according to Collin's *Baronetage*, was the first person advanced to the degree of Baronet on 22nd May, 1611, upon the institution of the Order.

The Council thankfully acknowledge the anonymous gift of 12 new copies of the late Mr. G. C. Bompas' work, entitled "The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays," issued in 1902. If any of our readers are not already in possession of a copy of this excellent work, it may now be obtained at 2s. 6d. net.

It is with pleasure that we draw attention to a new novel by our late hon. treasurer, Miss Marion Plarr. It is entitled *Cynara*—the story of Ernest and Adelaide. Grant Richards, 8, Regent's St., S.W.1., is the publisher of this Ernest Dowson creation and the price is 7s. 6d.

When the late Mr. George Moore's revealing comedy, "The Making of an Immortal," was first brought out a few years ago, the newspaper critics (as usual in the wrong) described it as a good-humoured joke, and inferentially that it was not to be regarded seriously, or taken to mean that Mr. Moore was a Baconian, in the current acception of that term. But why they should be at pains to assume this attitude is otherwise inexplicable, unless they were interested in suppressing the truth. For not only was George Moore a pronounced Baconian who held the Stratfordian tradition in the utmost contempt, but one of exceptionable sagacity, as the following letter, addressed to our friend, Mr. R. L. Eagle, last year, sufficiently shews, and in which the important distinction in the true spelling of the actor's name and that of the true author's is emphasized as a correction of his original manuscript. It will be remembered that, subsequent to the earlier performance at the Arts Theatre, Mr. Eagle desired to repeat its performance as a pastoral at Beckenham. This eventually took place with Mr. Moore as an auditor (he had been prevented by illness from attending its original production).

> "I read your letter with pleasure, and have no objection to your giving a performance of 'The Making of an Immortal.' I will send you a copy of the play when you have made up your mind definitely, and you will notice from the correction made in the text that the Mummer's name is throughout mis-spelt. It should be as you know, Will Shakspere and not Shakespeare, which was the pseudonym of the poet. You will do well to make this distinction clear to the people of your company. The mummer should not be addressed as Shakespeare until Jonson imposes the name upon him on page forty-nine. When you are next in London I shall be glad if you will call here in the afternoon, for I should like to talk to you about your discerning criticism of "The Tempest" which I read with much pleasure.
>
> Sincerely yours, GEORGE MOORE."

In an earlier letter to me, Mr. Moore made it quite clear that he was a convinced Baconian and that the question of the true authorship had become one of international importance. And many years earlier still he wrote—"The first time I heard Bacon mentioned as the possible author of the Plays and Poems, the idea lit up in my brain, and I felt certain that it could not have been the Mummer. . . .The moment it was suggested that Bacon had written them, I felt as many must have felt when they heard for the first time that the earth goes round the sun. Things began to get concentric again; hitherto they had all been eccentric."

"There never was a time in the history of the world when words had less connection with reality." Thus "Beachcomber" in the *Daily Express* of Oct. 4th, 1933.

Although this sage observation was made in connection with another matter, it appeared appropriately adjacent to a four column "history" of "Francis Bacon—a Wicked Man who did Good," by G. M. Thomson, one of a series under the caption "The Great Philosophers." The hotch-potch of fact and fiction with which this account is obviously dished up from Macaulay's obsolete essay, may be swallowed, like the proverbial haggis, by readers of the *Daily Express*, who are expected to swallow anything. But that we should read in the same issue that copies of the *Daily Express* "Course in Philosophy" are to be distributed to students at King's College, by the assistance of the hon. sec. of King's College Philosophical Society, Mr. Denham Young, sets us a wondering. "I am sure," says that worthy, that this "concise" course "can do far more to popularize the study of philosophy among the students than any of the *serious* (itals. mine) books on the subject." Master Beaverbrook must feel proud.

Although Bacon's *History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh* is admittedly a classic in English history, it is not free from numerous errors, which is not surprising from the variety of sources to which he was beholden for many particulars. That he drew largely from Speed is certain, and probably from Hall, Grafton, and others, including the Latin work of Polydore Vergil, which had been dedicated to Henry VIII. Vergil was an Italian, and it is no wonder that some errors occurred in his massive *Urbinatis Anglica Historiae* in 27 books. But it has been shewn that Bacon has repeated some of these. The point in raising this is that recently, Mr. Thomas Thorp of St. Martin's Lane, has offered for sale a copy of Vergil's work dated 1534, from the library of the late John Hodgkin, Esq., of Reading, at the price of £40. The vendor says that this particular copy was Bacon's own copy, and that it contains no fewer than 300 marginal notes in his hand, as well as 64 clever drawings made as he studied the work, together with his special monogram or trefoil in 32 places! We wonder.

In Mrs. Gallup's deciphering, references are made to Perkin Warbeck (whose adventures are treated at some length in Bacon's *Henry VII*), in which deciphering Bacon is credited with saying that the claim to the throne by Warbeck was akin to his own, except that Warbeck's was founded on "thin air." But Bacon adheres to the general historical view that Warbeck was a mere pretender, through and through, like his forerunner, Simnel. It is difficult to discern any kind of coincidence in the two claims. The confession by Warbeck of his humble origin and fraudulent impersonation of the Duke of York, is given in Hall (1548) and in Grafton (1569) the latter version being recited (with omissions) in Gainesforde's *Perkin Warbeck* (1618). Whether this was an "enforced" confession, under promise of saving his head, while a prisoner, is difficult to decide. Gainesforde's account says "he was first set in the stocks with contumelious derision, then, carried through the streets of London like a prodigious spectacle, then put to the rack, which made him not only confess his pedigree and origin, but write it with his own hands." His execution took place at Tyburn afterwards

on the pretext of a lesser offence, which was an abortive attempt to escape from his imprisonment at the Tower.

Of all the fantastic theories, put forward by some professing Baconians, that propounded by Mr. J. E. Morgan, as set out in the *New York Times*, is the latest. "I believe," he says, "that Edward VI, Bacon and Shakespeare were one and the same person." He says that he "does not expect to be able to prove this," but believes he has "irrefutable proof that Bacon throughout his life-time thought he was Edward VI., whom history variously records as having died of consumption in his sixteenth year or of having been poisoned at the instigation of John Dudley, Duke of North-umberland."

As there would, consequently, be a discrepancy of about twenty-three years in the age of Bacon (as given out) and as Edward Tudor, son of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, Mr. Morgan pleasantly gets over this deadly anachronism by saying that "proof is not lacking that Bacon was twenty-three years older than he represented and that his Cambridge student dates were established many long years after Bacon became famous." But this is utter balderdash and merely imagination run riot. Even were these two propositions agreeable, there happens to be other contemporary proof which rules them out of countenance. I name but one. It is a long letter written, signed, and dated 1573, in Francis Bacon's own hand. It is a boyish letter, written by a boy of 13, soon after leaving home to begin his studies at Trinity, Cambridge. It is dated from Cambridge and addressed to one of his half-brothers in London. Anyone may see this letter, which is amongst the MS. exhibits at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Its contents will soon dispel the notion that at the same date Francis Bacon was, in reality, thirty-six years of age!

The authenticity of the famous "Conversations" of Ben Jonson and William Drummond of Hawthornden rests chiefly upon the assumption by Mr. David Laing, who discovered the notes, minus signature or date, long after, amongst the papers of Sir Robert Sibbald, of Edinburgh. He based his conclusion on what appeared to him as "very evident marks of being a literal transcript of Drummond's original notes!" Sir Walter Scott was afterwards led to believe the same thing. Mr. J. C. Squire, some time ago, suggested that they were spurious, which is worth far more consideration. In these notes Jonson is reported as much of a braggart, under-valuing most of his literary contemporaries, even against his own acknowledged praises of many of them in his published writings. In the notes he even jeers at "Sheakspear" for having "in a play brought in a number of men saying they had suffered shipwreck in Bohemia, when there is no sea neer by some 100 miles." This is the sort of stuff that is perennially trotted out by the conventional critics who are ignorant of Bohemia's geographical history, but it is scarcely likely that Jonson, of all men, would have made so stupid an observation.

The extract from *Don Quixote* in the post-script of Mr. Stone's letter in this issue, in which the Don animadverts on the publishing of books is apt. Those who are closely acquainted with the writings of Gosson, Webbe, Greene, Sidney and others (all reputed to be Bacon's masks) will find little difficulty in tracing many remarkable paraphrases, arguments, and general style of treatment regarding poetry and philosophy in these, which are to be found in *Don Quixote*, but which were issued long before the latter was heard of. Indeed some of the precepts and proverbs in *Don Quixote* seem to have been boldly taken from Bacon's note book (the Promus) and are also to be found in the earlier Shakespeare Quartos. On the question of authentic authorship, referred to in *Don Quixote* (but in respect of a letter written for Sancho to carry to his native town), there is a further significant passage which may also be a covert hint to the same purpose. "It is mighty well," said Sancho, "now you have only to sign it." "It wants no signing," said Don Quixote; "I need only put my cypher to it, which is the same thing." (Jarvis' translation, 1742).

The Council begs to acknowledge the gift with many thanks of a number of selected books from the library of the late Mr. H. Crouch Batchelor. The donor was Mr. Batchelor, brother of the deceased.

At the last Annual Dinner of the Society, Mr. C. Y. C. Dawbarn drew attention to the very general condemnation of the part Bacon is supposed to have played in the prosecution, inquisition and "torture" of Peacham, charged with treason. The following verbatim copy of the warrant gives the lie direct to the implication about Bacon, shewing that he was but one of a number ordered by the King to conduct the inquiry and that the extremest measure to be applied to this prisoner was to put him in manacles.

COUNCIL BOOK.

A letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, Kt., His Majesty's Secretary of State, Sir Julius Cæsar, Kt., Master of the Rolls, of His Majesty's Privy Council, Sir Gervasse Helwishe, Kt., Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Francis Bacon, His Majesty's Attorney-General; Sir Henry Montagu, Kt., His Majesty's Sergeant-at-Law; Sir Henry Yelverton, Kt., Solicitor General; Sir Randall Crewe, Kt., His Majesty's Sergeant at Law, and Francis Cottington, Esq., Clerk of His Majesty's Privy Council and to every of them.

Whereas Edmund Peacham, prisoner, is charged with writing a treasonable book and refuses to declare the truth, and for as much as the same doth concern His Majesty's sacred person and government, therefore this is to require you and every one of you to repair to the Tower to examine and if perverse and not otherwise willing to tell the truth to put him in the manacles. *For which this shall be your sufficient warrant.*

One has a shrewd suspicion, however, that what was called the manacles in those times were a form of thumbscrew or wristscrew. There is concurrent testimony to justify this suspicion.

Mr. Richard Ince, author of *Capo*, *At the Sign of Sagittarius*, *When Joan was Pope*, and many other works of fiction and biography is at present at work on a new historical romance, *England's High Chancellor*. His book has for its basis the Baconian view of the authorship of the Shake-speare plays. The book, with its rich historical setting, vivid and entirely sympathetic portraiture of Francis Bacon, Lady Anne Bacon, Betty Hatton, Alice Barnham and other historical figures, should attract wide attention amongst all classes of readers. Baconians especially should look forward eagerly to its appearance in the spring.

Of Mr. Ince's last historical work, *When Joan was Pope*, Mr. V. S. Pritchett wrote in *The Spectator*: "To my mind, Mr. Ince has written the kind of historical novel which we can read nowadays with satisfaction and delight. Because of his caustic realism, his merriness, his irony, his wit, his wisdom and learning, and his persuasive management of language, we can step with ease across history."

H.S.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

It is with great sorrow that we have to record the death of Lord Sydenham of Combe on 7th February, 1933, at the age of 84. The cause of death was cerebral hemorrhage. As a Pro-Consul and a master of Imperial strategy his reputation was world-wide. As a soldier he was equally famous. As Governor of Bombay his record was unique. Our readers will know him better by his spirited articles and pamphlets in defence of Francis Bacon's authorship of the works of Shakespeare.

Another stalwart protagonist of the Baconian cause who has "passed on" is Mr. Alfred Mudie, who died on January 9th, 1933, at the age of 87. He was a most sincere friend of the Society, and handsomely bequeathed to the same a legacy of £500 in cash, as well as a share-interest in a freehold house at Hove, at the decease of his devoted housekeeper, who enjoys it during her life. Mr. Alfred Mudie was a nephew of the founder of the famous Mudie's Library and had for many years been a convinced Baconian. His first contribution was a pamphlet, *The Shakespeare Anagrams* (1902) and the last *The Self-Named William Shakespeare* (1929) both of which dealt with Baconian cryptographic studies. Not long before his death, a friend calling upon him, found a copy of Bacon's Essays in his hand which he had been trying to re-read, though it was feared his condition of mind then was not quite equal to that pleasurable task.

Still another stalwart gone, in the person of Mr. J. Cuming Walters, editor of the *Manchester City News* and past president of the Dickens Fellowship. He was a most brilliant journalist, and championed the Bacon cause for many years, having previously been a keen Stratfordian, but was soon converted to our faith by personal contact with the late Ignatius Donnelly about 1888. We all deeply deplore the loss of these three notable protagonists of the cause and hope that they are now resting in peace.

Our members and readers will further condole with our honoured and beloved Vice-President, Mr. Horace Nickson, and with Mrs. Nickson, our member, in their sad grief by the death of their eldest daughter following a motor accident in the Midlands.

A TRIBUTE TO ALFRED MUDIE.

One of our veterans of the Bacon Society has passed. A good husband, father and friend; a friend whom the Bacon Society has good reason both to honour and to love.

His master, Francis Bacon, has said, "Words though they be full of flattery and uncertainty, yet they are not to be despised, especially with the advantage of affection."

Truly the gentle sweetness of Mr. Mudie will long be in our memory, while his legacy of £500 earns our warmest and sincerest gratitude.

No keener Baconian breathed than Mr. Alfred Mudie, nor one more devoted to pen-and-heart service of his Master.

Associated with literature from his birth, nephew of Charles Mudie, Founder of Mudie's Library, Alfred Mudie was for some years Manager of its Kensington Branch. Retiring about 30 years ago, he was destined to suffer a great and sad loss in the death through a motor accident in France, of his distinguished and only son, Harold, the Head and Front of Esperanto.

Mr. Alfred Mudie's Cryptic Work *The Self-named William Shake-Speare*," appeals most to Baconians engaged in Cypher research. "The Soul," says Francis Bacon, "is the place of Ideas." May Alfred Mudie's soul pass on and up in Peace.

ALICIA A. LEITH.